
THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

# Kampala's Shitscape:

# Exploring Urbanity And Sanitation In Uganda

by

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PhD in Geography

University of Edinburgh

2013

## Abstract

In this thesis, I explore the collective excrement apparatus of Kampala, or the "shitscape". I consider the diverse ways that the city's inhabitants utilise different materials to manage their daily defecation, from flush toilets and latrines to plastic bags, septic tanks, and wastewater channels. In doing so, I unravel the historical and contemporary construction of toileting as a critical component of the modern city in the global south, and the everyday role of excrement in the inclusion and exclusion of Kampala's inhabitants. The shitscape therefore invites a discussion of how the city's sanitation infrastructures are thought about and implemented in a way that both reflects and reinforces the socio-economic disparities of its residents. The thesis begins with an historical analysis of how the city was shaped by colonialism and how this affects the contemporary shitscape in terms of ideas about urbanity, modernity, and hygiene, and then analyses how the material and symbolic groundwork of the colonial period is extended into the planning and living of today's city. Tracing the city's main wastewater channel through affluent areas and informal settlements of central Kampala, I use ethnographic and qualitative methods to understand the everyday toileting materialities and performances, and its role in the ways in which the city is read, perceived, and lived by its inhabitants. The study's primary theoretical contribution is to contribute to Lefebvre's theories about the production of urban space by bringing it into conversation with postcolonial and feminist literatures that knit together bodily function and material infrastructure. This everyday look at the how the city's shitscape operates ultimately offers ways to challenge prevailing notions of urbanity, and prompts thinking about alternative possibilities for how city life is conceptualised.

## Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the help and participation of so many people, but first and foremost I must thank my supervisors Betsy Olson and Lynn Staeheli. They both deserve special mention, and huge hugs, because they have been so instrumental over the past four years. It has not been an easy road from initial thoughts to final stages, but they have been there throughout, often via email and Skype, providing a wealth of wisdom and encouragement. Thank you.

The ESRC has provided funding for this research, via the 1+3 scheme. Thank you for this invaluable source of financial support, which enables aspiring academics like me to try their hand.

Edinburgh University has proved to be chock-a-block with knowledgeable, lovely people. Eric Laurier is a gem, and a much appreciated Edinburgh presence. He has been instrumental in guiding me (thesis in hand) over the final hurdles. Heaps of gratitude to you, Eric. And the Geography department's Benbecula office is a hovel but it seems to always contain wondrous and humorous people throughout its various line-ups of PhD students. Thanks to all of you for your insights and support and, more importantly, a lot of laughs.

Thanks too to the people I have met in Kampala. It is a city that has made me feel so welcomed, and I have made friends for life there. The Mugishas have been especially wonderful, hosting and helping in equal measure. The participants in this research have often professed surprise at the topic, but it is

me who has ultimately been taken aback by the open and frank conversations that have been had. These discussions have made this research possible.

My family also deserve huge thanks. They really are brilliant. The Browns and the Terrenis are a fabulous concoction of support and love, with an ample sprinkling of off-the-wall. They must all be beyond happy that my time as a student is finally nearing its conclusion. Thanks for getting me through it all!

And finally, to Keith, the biggest thank you of all. You have the dubious honour of inspiring this whole endeavour via your own personal shit journey. Your strength is incredible. Thank you for your love and support, and for your awesome patience.

## Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by me, that the work is my own, and that the work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Stephanie Elizabeth Terreni Brown

December 2013

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# Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| CLTS | Community Led Total Sanitation |
| GC | Garden City |
| KCC | Kampala City Council |
| KCC-PE | Kampala City Council-project for slum environment upgrading |
| KCCA | Kampala Capital City Authority |
| KMUPM | Kampala Mengo Urban Planning Mission |
| KSMP | Kampala Sanitation Master Plan |
| NCBO | Namuwongo Community Based Organisation |
| NEMA | National Environment Management Authority |
| NGO | Non Governmental Organisation |
| NRM | National Resistance Movement |
| STW | Sewage Treatment Works |
| UGC | Uganda Golf Club |
| UGSH | Uganda Shillings |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| URC | Uganda Railway Corporation |
| WATSAN | Water and Sanitation |

## Figures

# 1 Introducing the shitscape

This thesis looks at Kampala, the capital city of Uganda, and takes a critical look at its collective excrement apparatus. It does so by going on a journey through the city by way of the Nakivubo Channel, the city's main drainage channel. The Nakivubo weaves its way through the centre of the city and travels towards Lake Victoria, where it deposits its contents into the great lake's Inner Murchison Bay. The channel is by no means the only one of its kind in Kampala, as there are hundreds of channels that crisscross the capital, but it is the largest and oldest channel to be stonewalled and incorporated into Kampala's wastewater system. There are many smaller fingers that extend from the main channel, and the thesis looks at one of these in particular, the Kitante Channel. Together, the Nakivubo and the Kitante encompass a swathe of Kampala that covers some of the most elite and the most impoverished areas of the city. That is intentional, for it allows for a relational examination of the city's excremental materials and infrastructures to be made explicit; in this way, multiple relationships are revealed and the way(s) in which the space of the city is produced are explored.

## 1.1 Ordinary Kampala?

Kampala makes for an interesting case study for this kind of urban geography: as the capital of Uganda, and the only city in the country, the expectation would be that it is typical of many other sub-Saharan African cities in that it is overcrowded and densely populated by the "countryside [that] began to pour into the cities soon after independence" (Davis, 2006: 58).

Yet Kampala is small when compared to other African cities; it sits 33rd in a UN Habitat urban population compilation (UN-Habitat, 2010b: 53). Its size is perhaps one reason why it is not a spectacular city, one that rarely catches the attention of academia and the media in the way that Lagos, Johannesburg, and Nairobi seem to.[1] These cities arguably epitomise the "Otherness" of Africa: African cities are conceptualised simply as cities not as we know them, and exemplify a state of urbanity that is "apart from the world…[a] failed and incomplete example of something else" (Mbembé & Nuttall, 2004: 348). In an effort to avoid, and perhaps challenge, this meme, Kampala acts as an "'ordinary city', the cities that are off the map, or down the hierarchy of existing theories of globalized urbanism" (Jacobs, 2011: 7; see also Legg 2008; Robinson 2006; Roy and Ong 2011; Simone 2004). Methodologically, its ordinariness can help make explicit the ways in which policies and ideas about urbanity and modernity are understood, translated, and implanted in the realm of sanitation.

Sanitation is an important component of cityness and urban planning. A city that has a functioning water and sanitation (WATSAN) infrastructure is considered modern and well planned, and typical of "developed" countries. Conversely, a deficient or absent water and sanitation service and infrastructure is considered typical of cities lacking in modernity, in

[1] In a search of academic articles about "urban geography" on Google Scholar, articles containing "urban geography Johannesburg" featured 14,900 times; "urban geography Nairobi" returned 15,800 hits, "urban geography Lagos" returned 9,180 entries, and Kampala only 4,960.

"underdeveloped" or "developing" cities (UN-Habitat, 2011).[2] Water and sanitation are recognised as a human right under the UN Resolution 64/292, and the efficacy of these services is seen as essential to ensure that the health of a population is not compromised through diseases that are present and/or transmitted via water and faeces. Moreover, sanitation is not just an important component of bodies and health, but occupies an important place in the ordering and discourse of bodies, infrastructure, and social governance - how and where we defecate and urinate, and what happens to our bodily waste once it has exited the body is imbued with judgement and value. Sanitation therefore "functions as a mediating system reordering not just the biological effects of shit but also its political and social meanings" (Hawkins, 2004: no pagination). But, if sanitation is important in the ordering of bodies, space, and things, why focus specifically on the faecal? The following section seeks to clarify this, and two maps of Kampala are included to help orientate the reader throughout the thesis.

[2] I am cognisant of the terminological problems when referring to cities, people, and countries as "developing/developed" and/or of the "global north/south". Neither is better or worse than the other, and both are guilty of sustaining binary differences by consigning place and people as temporally and spatially other (as somehow "back in time" and "over there"). For the sake of consistency, however, when a term is required to denote difference in policy or urbanity, I have chosen to follow McFarlane (2010) and Parnell, Pieterse, and Watson (2009) and use "global south".

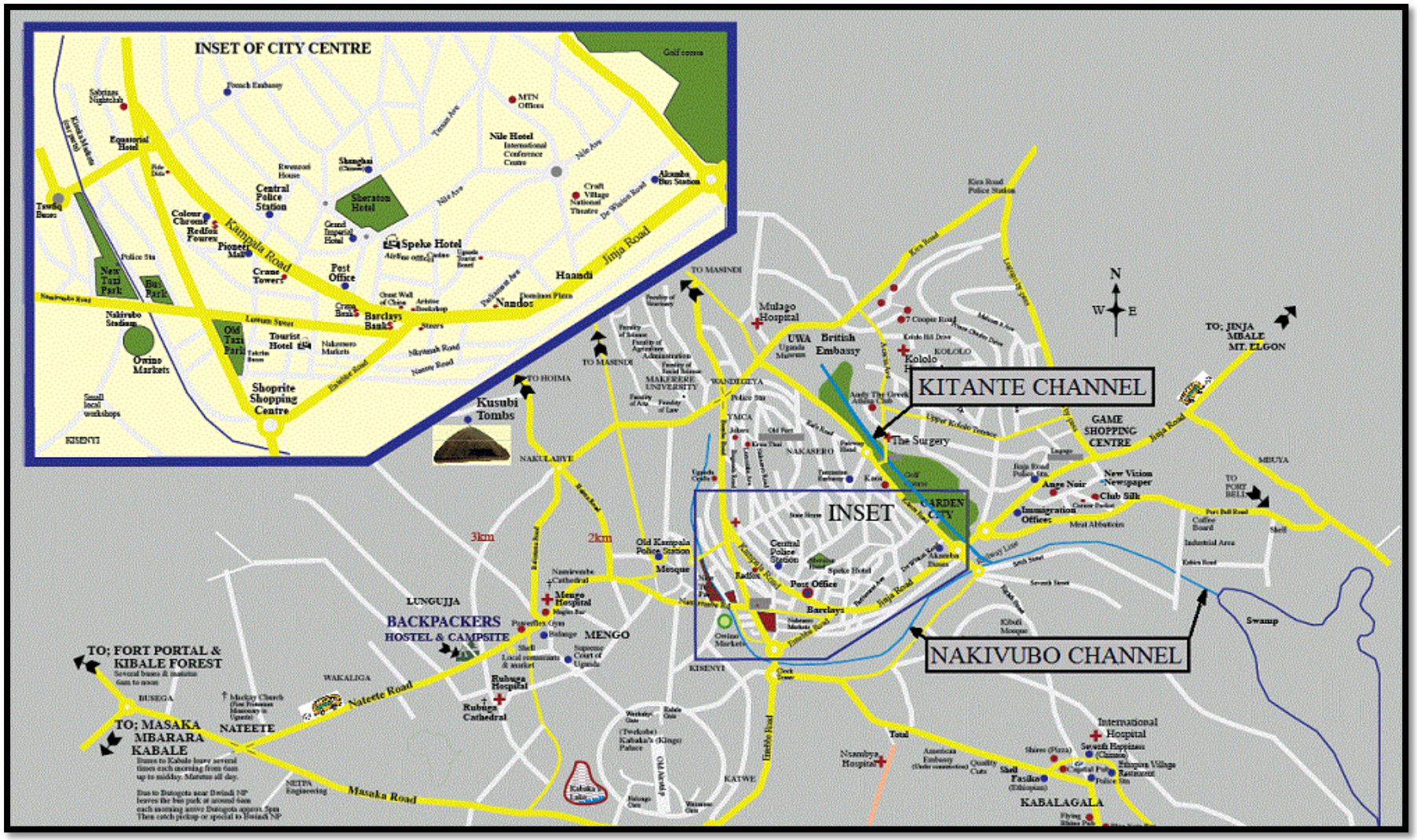


**Figure 1 Map of central Kampala.** ***Source*****: Adapted from http://www.mappery.com/Kampala-Tourist-Map**

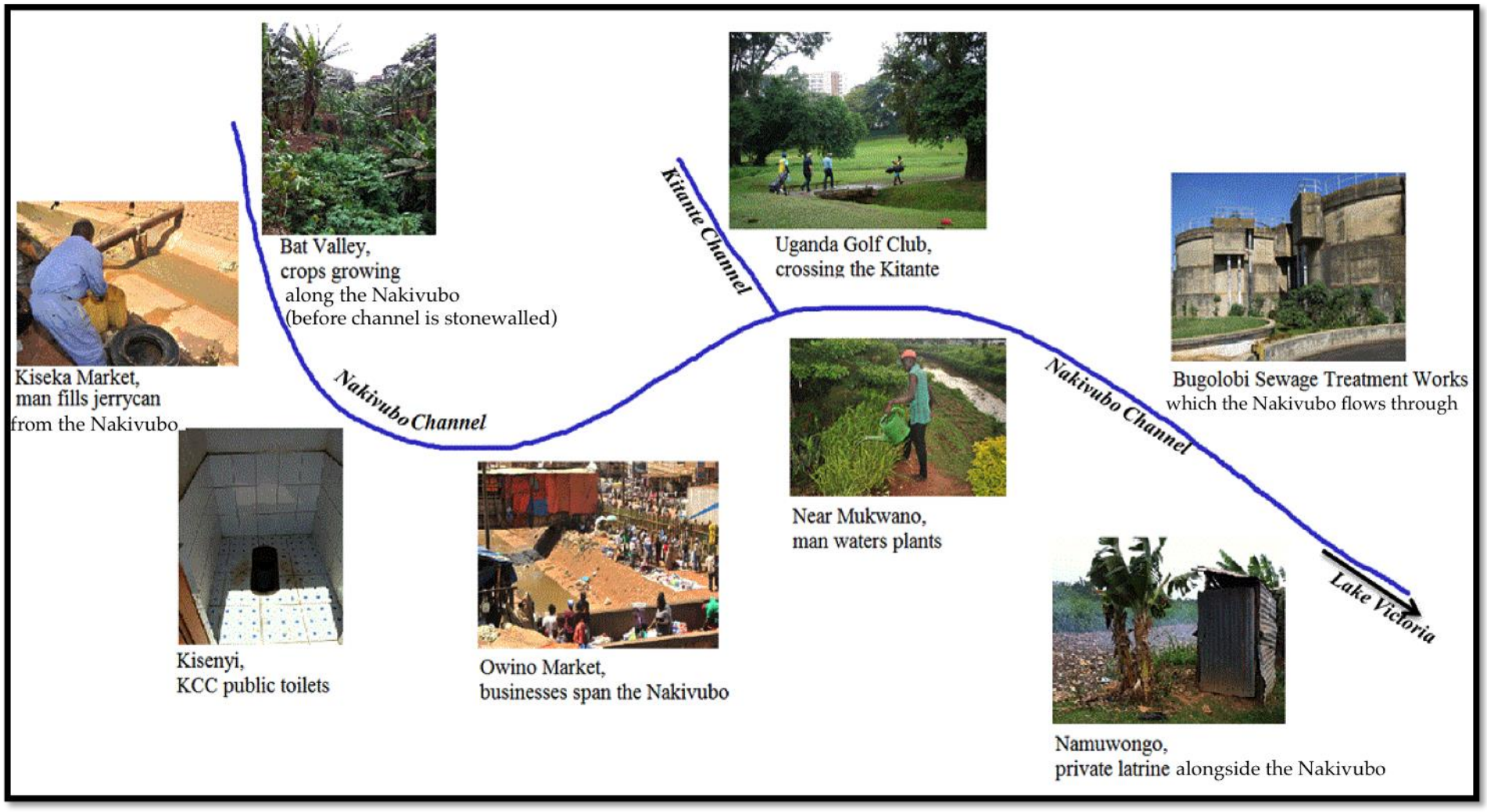


**Figure 2 Photomap of the Nakivubo and Kitante Channels.** ***Source*****: Namuwongo, Kisenyi, Bugolobi, and Bat Valley photos taken by author; Kiseka Market, Owino Market, and Mukwano photos from Wandera (2013); Uganda Golf Club photo taken by Elizabeth Ritchie**

### 1.1.1 Why Kampala's *shit*scape and not wastescape?

There are a number of reasons why I have chosen to focus the research on Kampala's defecatory practices and products. The first is that the city's infrastructure has historically focused much more heavily upon water, rather than sewage. The prioritisation of Kampala's water services has resulted in recent estimates suggesting that 65% of the city's population has access to clean piped water (UN-Habitat, 2007). This is considerably greater coverage than the city's sewerage infrastructure, as the existing network of piped sewerage connections cover less than 10% of the city (Omolo Okalebo, 2011). This networked sewerage infrastructure actually only serves approximately 30,000 people who live and work in the city centre, which is two per cent of the city's population (KCCA, 2012: 356).[3] In the absence of connection, the vast majority of Kampala's inhabitants manage their bodily waste in a variety of ways ranging from use of flush toilets and septic tanks to plastic bags and bottles. This research examines these multiple ways of managing bodily waste, and questions the assumptions that are made about particular toileting methods, as well as the places and people that are associated with them.

The second key reason this research focuses upon faeces is that this particular product of bodily excretion occupies a universal position, as all bodies have to defecate. Unlike menstrual blood and semen, defecation is not limited to a gendered body (Weinberg & Williams, 2005) . And whereas all bodies also

[3] Calculated with a conservative estimation of the city's population at 1.5million inhabitants.

have to urinate, faecal matter is generally regarded as a more disgusting corporeal by-product (Jewitt, 2011).

This brings me to the third reason for an explicit engagement with the scatological, which is that faeces is "a universal disgust substance" (Rozin, Haidt, & McCauley, 1993: 597). Shit is the fluid that is the most abject of all our bodily excretions, in part because of its association with disease but also because of its relationship with civility and morality (Douglas, 1966; Longhurst, 2001; Weinberg & Williams, 2005). Moore writes that excretion is "bound into notions of the primitive body" (Moore, 2009: 108), as excreta that flows from an undisciplined body may be read as infantile, aged, sick, uncivilised, and/or deviant. Freudian analysis posits excrement as the most base and valueless matter in a hierarchy of things that enables civilised man to be distinguished from uncivil and childlike behaviour (Dean, 2000; Moore, 2009). The implication here is that faeces is linked to linear conceptions of progress and development that span across a range of scales, from bodies to civilisations. Hence, the thesis engages with the ways in which excrement is associated with civility, and links this to colonial processes that are bound up with civilising rhetoric.

The shitscape, then, signifies the affect-laden norms of toileting and, more explicitly, of excrement. The research draws upon geographies of the relational nature of waste and materiality, and the "associated processes occurring at the bottom of the value chain" (Kirsch, 2013: 440), but makes excrement the focal point of the research rather than objects or rubbish (see

Nicky Gregson, Crang, Ahamed, Akhter, & Ferdous, 2010; Kirsch & Mitchell, 2004). I use the term shitscape to denote the collective sanitary apparatus that the city's inhabitants utilise, and the relationships that mediate these infrastructures and practices. An analysis of Kampala's shitscape therefore encounters flush toilets and latrines, septic tanks and sewage pipes, and extends to plastic bags and bottles and the wastewater channels that are used to dispose of them. The analysis examines what assumptions are made about particular toileting performances, and engages with knowledge(s) of the city and its sanitation infrastructures and practices. The thesis investigates the spatiality of particular toileting methods, and asks whether it is possible to challenge the conception of Kampalan cityspace as deficient.

This is made all the more critical given that Kampala is growing fast. Cities Alliance estimate the city's night time population to be 1.5 million and that this doubles during the day (2011). The city is projected to be growing at a rate of 5.6% per annum (Vermeiren, Van Rompaey, Loopmans, Serwajja, & Mukwaya, 2012). The city authorities have never had a comprehensive urban plan; the 1994 Kampala Structure Plan is the most recent plan at the time of writing, although another a more comprehensive one is in the pipeline.[4] The extent to which the 1994 Plan has been followed and implemented is limited, with little similarity between actual growth patterns and those detailed in the Plan (Koojo, 2005; Omolo Okalebo, 2011). Various international development

[4] Kampala Capital City Authority has a 2012 draft version of the Kampala Physical Development Plan (KCCA 2012), but as of December 2013 no final version has been published.

agencies are engaged with the Ugandan government in a series of large-scale plans for the city's sanitation infrastructure. These plans include the development of one new sewage treatment plant to replace the current one at Bugolobi, and smaller faecal sludge treatment works in the north (at Lubigi) and north east of the city near Kinawataka (KCCA, 2012).[5] In addition, at least fourteen local and international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are also involved in WATSAN projects in Kampala (UWASNET, 2012).[6] Such projects range in style, cost, and location, but all seek to improve and modernise the city through water and sanitation infrastructural development. The research grapples with what this actually means by engaging with different toileting methods and sanitation projects along the Nakivubo. What is Green-NGO's aim for installing an ecological toilet in Namuwongo, for example, and how is this understood by the residents it seeks to serve? How is a dearth of municipal sponsored toilets in Kisenyi understood by both the municipal authorities and the inhabitants? How is the presence of free-to-use flush toilets in the Garden City shopping mall interpreted by Kampalans, and who uses them? These questions are intended

[5] The construction work at Lubigi is, as of November 2013, behind schedule (Waiswa, 2013). There is also one more plant planned at Nakulongolo, but construction will not start on this until the other three new sewage plants have neared completion (KCCA, 2012: 359).

[6] The Uganda Water and Sanitation NGO Network report that there was a total of 305 million Ugandan Shillings invested in WATSAN in Kampala district during 2011/12, and that there are 14 local and international civil society organisations that work in WATSAN in Kampala (UWASNET 2012). My research suggested that this number is a vast underestimation, as it fails to take into account NGOs that are not explicitly linked to WATSAN projects but have some involvement with toileting projects.

to trouble the city's asymmetrical distribution of power in terms of capital, gender, age, and race distinctions. I argue that bodily waste[7] is an important mode through which to reveal inequalities in the city, and I employ a methodological focus upon the everyday to do so.

## 1.2 Toileting and the everyday

An initial look at Kampala's shitscape presents some clear distinctions. There is a stark disparity between the types of sanitation used and available to use. In some areas of the city, flush toilets are common and present in every household. In other areas of the city, the majority of households do not have private toileting and inhabitants use shared pit latrines, often for a fee. If shared toileting is not available, or the fee cannot be met, inhabitants make use of plastic bags and other materials to defecate and urinate into. Once expelled from the body, what happens to the waste next is also very different: in some areas, such as Kololo, most bodily waste is stored in on-site, privately managed septic tanks that are periodically emptied by private companies that charge a fee.[8] In the central business district, toilets are connected to the sewer system, and the waste makes its way to the city's only sanitation treatment plant in Bugolobi. In Namuwongo, bodily waste may be thrown, wrapped in plastic bags, into the Nakivubo, or piled into, or more often onto, overflowing pit latrines.

[7] From hereon, "bodily waste" refers specifically to faeces, unless otherwise stated.

[8] The cost of emptying a septic tank depends on how large it is, and charges range from UGSH 80,000 to UGSH 300,000 (approximately between £20 and £75).

Across the city, assumptions are made about these different styles of toileting and management of human waste, and I am particularly interested in how cityspace and its concurrent toileting methodologies are understood and imagined. As such, the thesis engages with literature that offers ways of knowing and understanding the city. The empirical chapters are organised in such a way that first allows the historical city planning to be made explicit (in Chapter 4). This lays the groundwork for a socio-spatial analysis of toileting infrastructures and practices that are discussed in the subsequent two chapters. Chapters 5 and 6 are, respectively, developed around toileting materials and practices that are considered idealised and uncivil. Read together, this empirical work reveals the contradictions and conflicts that exist within dominant conceptions of urban modernity. I draw broadly upon theories of the post-colonial city, and particularly upon the work of AbdouMaliq Simone who examines interactions and practices in African cities and finds them to be far more complicated than is oft assumed (Simone, 2001a, 2001b, 2004, 2010, 2011; Simone & Abouhani, 2005). Simone illustrates the humanity and vulnerability in everyday strategies of living in poverty, and without romanticising, Simone seeks to point out the potential that exists in messy, non-linear narratives of urban life, and makes explicit the creativity and diversity inherent therein. This calls attention to what Simone calls the "'multiplex' in African urban development", or what he defines as "the ability to negotiate among locally and externally generated urban development knowledge" (Simone, 2004: 241). In this research, the multiplex is understood

as the variety of ways that defecation is done, the materials that are used to do it, how Kampala's inhabitants interpret toileting practices, and the ways in which these interpretations get mapped onto the space of the Nakivubo. These interpretations are read against the ways in which dominant producers of knowledge about Kampala seek to change the city and its shitscape, and the implications therein. An analysis of Kampala that offers insights into many diverse practices and imaginations of toileting, then, offers alternative interpretations and experiences of everyday urban life. And, as Simone argues, attention to the urban multiplex adds to possibilities of, and potential for, difference to be embraced within the city.

The thesis draws upon a spatial methodology that is developed out of a Lefebvrian reading of the city (Lefebvre, 1991a, 1991b). Central to Lefebvre's theory is an understanding of the dynamics of everyday life, and the minutiae therein, of "a day in the life of an individual, any day, no matter how trivial" (Lefebvre, 1991a: 196). Frequently, the everyday consists of things and practices that are devalued or dirty (Lefebvre, 1991a: 87). Bodily waste is one such everyday (dirty) aspect of corporeality, and a Lefebvrian way to interpret this within the city is to grapple with the ways in which urban space is produced through the tripartite dialectics between representations of space, spatial practice(s), and representational spaces. This fluid interpretation of cityspace chimes with Simone's resolve to follow the multiplexities of urban life, and moves away from a crude dualistic interpretations of urbanity as planning from above or living from within (c.f. Lambert, 2013). Motivated by

this understanding of the production of space as a triptych, I examine the ways in which the contemporary city has been, and is, planned, understood, and lived. The following section sets out the research questions, and elaborates upon the framework of the thesis.

## 1.3 Research questions and thesis outline

In light of this introduction, the research questions that have informed the fieldwork and analysis are as follows:

- How are representations of Kampala developed and maintained, and what is the relationship to sanitation?
- What are the constructions of toileting practices in Kampala, and how does this change across the space of the Nakivubo Channel?
- How do these constructions establish and perpetuate a particular socio-spatial order?
- What alternatives can be made explicit that challenge this socio-spatial order?

Chapter 2 sets out the theoretical grounding in more detail and discusses essentialising discourses of African cities in relation to development narrative and practices. It looks to Kampala's past to scrutinise how ideas, histories, and practices of urban planning have influenced ideas about cities, modernity, and sanitation. Chapter 3 develops a feminist postcolonial critique

of development narratives and describes the research process itself.[9] It calls to question the ways in which methods and methodology can help explore and make explicit inequality and difference. A detailed discussion of Kampala's shitscape evolves throughout the empirical fieldwork detailed in Chapters 4, 5, and 6. These chapters look to Kampala's historical representation, idealised sanitary space and practice, and interpretations of uncivilised toileting materials and practices respectively. The empirical data, collected during 2010 and 2011, is used as a resource to illustrate the complex and contested ways that the excremental is managed and imagined. Each chapter begins with a vignette from a participant from the ethnographic research; this is intended to offer a brief illustration of the chapter that follows.[10] Ultimately, the thesis attempts to reveal the dialectical relationships between faecal assemblages and perceptions of urbanity along the Nakivubo Channel. The conclusion develops the critique of urban shitscapes into an exploration of potentials for urban change. It suggests that an analysis of the multiple ways bodily waste is imaged, practiced, and materialised can help to reveal the diverse affective

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[9] Throughout the thesis, I use "postcolonial" and the hyphenated "post-colonial", where the latter is intended to denote chronological context, and the former to the theories of colonialism and its effects. The use of both terms helps "to distinguish postcolonial studies *as a field* from colonial discourse theory *per se*, which formed only one aspect of many approaches and interests that the term 'post-colonial' sought to embrace" (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2001: 187, emphasis in the original).

[10] All participants' names that are used in the thesis are pseudonyms.

responses to sanitary infrastructures, and can in turn reveal potentialities for alternative understandings of daily life in the city.

# 2 Exploring the urban shitscape

*Early in the morning, when the sky is still an inky darkness, Evie gets up. Through weary eyes, she collects herself, picks up a large yellowish plastic container, and exits her home in favour of the spring. The journey is not long, perhaps two hundred meters, but is marked intermittently by open drains that have to be navigated via rickety planks, or jumped clean over - not an easy feat with sleep still in one's eyes, but Evie does so with practiced accomplishment. Once there, she fills her jerry can, jostling for position with the increasing number of people who have come for their morning ablutions and water-collecting duties. Eyes, face, and arms washed, with the jerry can heavy with water, Evie returns to her home. She leaves the container outside the back of her home, ready for use during the day ahead, and returns indoors. There, she unravels one plastic bag from a small ball made up of lots of scrunched up bags, hitches up her skirt, and squats in a corner near her bed. Evie opens up the bag, scrunching the top half of it so that the bag resembles a flaccid Tupperware container. She places the bag around her bottom and, holding it in place with both hands, Evie defecates into it. She uses scraps of old newspaper to wipe herself clean, places them in the bag, stands up, and shakes herself down. Evie picks up the bag, undoes the folds she made, twists it around, and ties a knot to seal its contents. She takes the bag, warm and full, and puts it outside the back door, ensuring that it is carefully sealed. Later, when she is walking to the market as dawn breaks, she will toss the bag into a drainage channel and continue with her day. (Excerpt from my fieldwork notebook, detailing ethnographic observations from time spent with Evie in mid April 2011.)*

## 2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the relationships between urbanity and modernity, and explores why hygiene and cleanliness are imagined as key components in the creation of modern cityspace. It explores why and how certain toileting performances, such as Evie's, are imagined as being "dirty" and how the absence and/or breakdown of sanitary infrastructure is an important trope in defining urban modernity. The chapter then engages with the geographical imaginary of colonialism in Kampala to set up a deeper exposition of the socio-spatial effects of modernising discourse upon the city and its inhabitants in the chapters that follow. The aim of this chapter is to make explicit the relationship between dirt and the spatial (re)organisation and conceptualisation of Kampala that are influenced by colonial and post-colonial imaginaries of the city. Such imaginaries provide an organisational logic for the city that is rooted in categories of social status. This, I argue, has shaped the social imaginaries of who (should) constitute the city, and indeed what "the city" itself is and should be (Iveson, 2007: 21). Such imaginaries influence decision-making processes in, of, and about urban space, limiting conceptions of rights claims by those who are excluded from the category of legitimate and modern urban inhabitants (Dikeç, 2002; Iveson, 2007; Staeheli, Mitchell, & Gibson, 2002). I pay particular attention to the histories of African cities, showing how a homogenising discourse of development has

dominated ideas about what cities on the continent are (and should be) like, and thus what they are imagined to be capable of.

In the discussion that follows, I briefly outline the modernist discourse that underpins the imagined city of Kampala, from colonial urbanisation to contemporary regimes of planning and development. Modernity, a troubled and contested concept, is critical to understanding everyday struggles in Kampala, as it is intimately bound up with the aspirations and materialities of inequality in the city. Though I challenge a modernist analytic perspective in Chapter 3 by advocating the use of feminist and postcolonial theories to understand the geopolitical system that urban development is entrenched within, in this chapter I begin by situating the case of Kampala within a broader historical discourse of African development. The shitscape allows for a discussion of how the city's sanitation infrastructures are thought about and implemented, whilst prompting contemplations about the consequences of socio-economic disparities.

I begin by introducing debates about African urbanity, and the interrelationship between African othering and modernist notions of sanitation and civility. I then engage with Kampala and the importance of sewage planning in pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial efforts to civilise the city. Before delving into a consideration of urban transitions across the African continent, however, I begin by

briefly addressing the concept of geographical imaginations in an attempt to clarify what I mean when I talk of the city as an imagined entity.

## 2.2 Imagining spaces, places, and people

The "geographical imagination", as a term and a concept, is broadly employed to describe the powerful ways in which knowledge is shaped by how we see the world and our place in it (Cosgrove, 2006, 2008; Daniels, 1992; Gregory, 1992; Said, 2003; Tuan, 1989). Geographical imaginings influence positionality, and play a powerful role in spatial epistemologies, or how we know what we do about different people and places. For political economists like David Harvey (2009), the geographical imagination is a way of seeing how various social processes operate within society at a variety of scales; Harvey examines the relationships between politics and geographies as a tool to map out how injustices and oppression function across space. Gregory (1992) provides both expansion and critique of this understanding by emphasising the role that culture and history play in formulating geographical imaginations. Gregory contends that knowledges are formulated and spatialised to effect the ways in which social groups are known. The role of culture in both the ability to know and to represent society was articulated in Edward Said's seminal work, *Orientalism*, first published in 1978. For Said, the geographical imagination refers not to the processes of describing

other places, but instead elucidates the roles of these kinds of imagination in the processes of power and domination; an "imaginative geography" of the world was a critical component of imperialism to create a system of hierarchy and difference to justify occupation and exploitation (Said, 2003).

A geographical imagination, then, can create and sustain a dominant view of the world that seeks to rank spaces, cultures, and people. For the purposes of imperialism and colonialism, the geographical imagination justified maintaining unequal distribution of power and resources. A geographical imagination of the world, as something that could be categorised and ordered, gained traction in the sixteenth century, as scholars and intellectuals sought to classify people and environments as part of a desire for logic and objectivity (Livingstone, 1992). This "reflected the rationality and the political ambitions of two inseparable processes, European modernity and European colonialism" (Bonnet, 2003: 57). Achebe argues that such Western ambitions require(d) a foil to assuage "deep anxieties about the precariousness of its civilisation", and thus the dominant imagination of the world forged European civility as the white and enlightened antithesis of African "barbarity" and "bestiality" (Achebe, 1977-793), the "Other" to Europe's dominant centrality.

### 2.2.1 Othering of space

The generalising characterisation of the African continent as other follows a long history of Africa, as a homogenised entity, occupying a place in Western imagination as the Dark Continent. This was popularised by Joseph Conrad's novella, *The Heart of Darkness*, which has become emblematic of Africa in the western imagination (Achebe, 1977). Lucy Jarosz (1992) argues that "Africa", as a construct and an imagination, has served, and continues to serve, as a counterpoint for Western superiority, and is an historically persistent powerful metaphor for all that the West is not. The many metaphors that are ascribed to the continent within this imperialistic discourse are embedded in dualist practices that create and sustain oppositions (Mudimbe, 1988). Thus, "Africa", its people, and places, are immobilised within ahistorical idioms of darkness, immorality, savagery, disorder, and filth in contrast to Western enlightenment, morality, civility, order, and cleanliness. These imaginaries played a central role in justifying colonial missions across the continent, yet the oppositional characterisations continue to exert themselves in post-colonial states, and are particularly instrumental in works that (both in theory and in practice) seek to locate the processes, problems, and impact of a globalising world order on "local" populations (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1999: 3).

These imaginaries are especially evident in the sphere of "development", a heavily contested term that has, nonetheless, become a bastion of international relations and global politics. Development agendas are varied and often have divergent perspectives. Whilst it is outwith the scope of this project to address the development debate more fully, it is important to note here that development as an objective has become a key feature of Africa precisely because of the pervasive and dominant characterisation of the continent as in need of intervention and progress (Ferguson, 1999).

Thus, throughout colonial and post-colonial periods, imaginations of difference have been preoccupied with desires to change the other, often in the name of progress. As the ultimate inimical opposite to the West, Africa, as the dark continent, is the most in need, and the most distinctive place within the imagination of global place. Mbembé argues that, "Africa as an idea, a concept, has historically served, and continues to serve, as a polemical argument for the West's desperate desire to assert its difference from the rest of the world" (Mbembé, 2001: 2). As such, the continent has become objectified by virtue of its inferiority and absence. In contemporary parlance, this "Africa talk", as Ferguson calls it, has "a certain intensity, full of anguished energy and (often vague) moral concern … [of] the crisis in Africa, the problems of Africa, the failure of Africa, the moral challenge of Africa" (Ferguson, 2006: 2). Ferguson argues that Africa, as "place-in-the-

world", is more than an imagined territory; rather, as a category, it has real, and profoundly felt effects upon people and their lives, functioning to structure place within a broader categorical arrangement that structures global order of politics, society, and economics.

Geographers and anthropologists, in particular, have long-attempted to grapple with these place-in-the-world effects and, partly as a consequence of postcolonial critiques, have sought to destabilise many of the assumptions surrounding imaginations of Africa (see, for example, Ferguson, 1999; Hart, 2004; Malkki, 1995; Power, 2009). Such approaches have endeavoured to disrupt the prevailing, homogenising principles of Africa as a concept, and often extol a methodology that is attentive to location and place. Of particular note is the pioneering methodology of oral histories by anthropologists working across the African continent in the post-colonial period, who often make the point that oral sources offer powerful subjective experiences that archives and documentary sources may distort and "silence" (Tonkin, 1986; Vansina, 1985; White, 2000; White, Miescher, & Cohen, 2001). For Ferguson, however, this is problematic precisely because it fails to address to questions concerning the continent as a whole, as the "Africa" that is commonly spoken of (and for) is a powerful one, and continues to dominate policy and media accounts (Ferguson, 2006). Furthermore, and of specific import for this study, accounts and

imaginaries of African cities are disconcertingly and overwhelmingly negative in terms of how they operate, and how they lived.

### 2.2.2 Othering the urban

As mentioned earlier, cities have often been portrayed as the nexus of modernity, and the drivers of political, economic, technological, and societal change. African cities, however, have seemingly defied the developmental path of urban growth and transition, with their extraordinary rates of demographic growth unaccompanied by industrial and economic growth that was central to modernisation theory, particularly in Euro-American cities (Kinver, 2006; UN-Habitat, 2008; UNFPA, 2005). Descriptions of African cities mirror those of the continent in that they are often entrenched within presumed global hierarchies, with the African urban transition so often typified by crisis, disorder, and deficiency. In the dominant discourse of what is urban, cities on the African continent are more often than not perceived as, at best, exemplars of failed modernity, and more often as absolute antitheses of modernity.

The African urban transition alludes to a series of reports and papers from institutions that are attempting to grapple with the continent's trend towards urbanisation (UN-Habitat, 2008, 2011; UN-MilleniumProject, 2005; UNFPA, 2007, 2011). These reports are, by and large, characterised by their descriptions of African cities as "premature", their population far exceeding the ability to support and

manage their expansion because of a lack of concomitant industrial growth. Since the 1990s, the worldwide population has increased significantly, with 2007 heralding the first time in history that a greater proportion of people lived in cities than outside them. The UN Population Fund (UNFPA) estimates that the population of Africa will be predominately urbanised before 2030, with a concurrent rise in urban poverty and slum dwelling (UNFPA, 2005).

Such apparent rapid growth in urbanisation across the continent leads the UN Habitat to contend that African cities require greater attention if development goals are to be met. Ignoring the upward, and speedy, trend toward urbanisation is perilous, and the organisation asserts that "Africa must recognise the problems cause by rapid urbanisation; not to do so would be to ignore a crisis in the making" (UN-Habitat, 2008: 1), thus placing the burden of both oversight and responsibility upon the continent. This position reflects and reproduces a dominant spatial geographical imagination which itself plays a powerful role in setting up what cities should be like. Problematising African cities for all that they are not thus becomes the geographical imaginary of diverse places across the continent as both partial and potentially pathological (for a comprehensive overview of urbanisation trends, see Satterthwaite, 2007). Cityscapes across the African continent bear witness to the varied effects of colonial regimes, and both colonial and post-colonial authorities have sought in a myriad of ways to create

urban spaces that impress ideas about modernity and power upon their contemporary populace, via residential, commercial, infrastructural and monumental planning and design (Myers, 2003a). Yet the continent's place in the global imagined hierarchy - as backward and in need of development - creates and sustains hegemonic conceptions of what its cities are like, and how they should be.

One line of critique of these imaginaries of a failed urban Africa attempts to expose the intent behind this othering representation. Postcolonial and feminist scholars offer a challenge to such dominant imaginations, and argue that othering discourses are entrenched within hierarchies of power and privilege that conceal and legitimise inequalities (Dikeç, 2002; Ong, 2011; Rao, 2006; Robinson, 2006; Roy, 2011; Simone, 2004). Jennifer Robison (2006) argues against definitions and categorisations of cities in hierarchical ways, and posits that a bifurcation between cities of the global north and south is based on ideas about modernity and development(alism), rather than or in addition to stark material difference. Robinson shows that such classification privileges some cities over others, and creates a system that encourages the emulation of modernity through development practices, thus favouring flows of global capital over the demands of city residents. Furthermore, hierarchies function intensively within cities, creating spaces that are home to a diverse array of people,

activities, and ideas. Hierarchies of power within urban spaces privilege certain residents over others, serving to license the voices and demands of some inhabitants over others (Isin, 2002). This has consequences for how socio-economic inequality is produced across space, often limiting the ability of the poorest urban residents to participate in decisions that affect them (Purcell, 2002).

It is important to stress here that the dynamics of representation, and the processes and effects of such othering, have enormous power. The "crisis of representation" that started in the 1960s prompted many scholars and activists from a range of disciplinary backgrounds to "explod[e] the notion that representation works innocently or transparently" (Jay, 1994: 9). Yet, despite this "explosion" of representation, it is vital to recognise the strategic meaning(s) of representation, and to acknowledge the Foucauldian relationship between power and knowledge that has an impact upon social, economic, and political marginalisation. Hall (1992) persuasively shows that representations of othering have, at their core, a dualism that relies upon simplification. Simplification essentialises understanding and knowledge to create a stereotype, which is itself contingent upon a splitting of stereotypes into simplified forms of good and bad. Thus, urban Africa is represented as bad, problematic, chaotic, filthy, and unplanned (see for example Davis, 2006; Hobkinson, 2011; Kaka, 2010; Lirri, 2010; Sanya & Owor, 2010; UN-

Habitat, 2010b), representations that work to maintain marginalisation from flows of global capital and instead require external intervention. Of particular relevance for an analysis of Kampala's sanitary infrastructures is that these dynamics of representation not only happen at a global level (i.e. between Africa and the West, or between the global north and south), but are also operationalised at more localised scales, such as within cities as Isin suggests (Isin, 2002). Spaces within cities become viewed as backward and antithetical to modernity, and thus to shared prosperity and progress.

Hierarchies of and within cities, then, provide ready examples of modernity and urbanity, with the former framing the city itself as problematic, and the latter positing certain areas within the city as the epitome of urban crisis, most often identified as a crisis of slum. For Ananya Roy (2011), "slum" is not simply a familiar description of urban poverty; its very ubiquity is destructive in that it enables and perpetuates repression. This "spatialisation of the Other" (Dikeç, 2002: 93) increases unevenness and inequality, and divests urban residents of their ability to fully participate in city life. In Kampala, the structural dynamics of the urban social imaginary contains and limits the space and the people within, with particular areas emerging as the "proper" places for slum residents within the order of the city, as will be detailed further in Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

As shall be explored in the following section, a key component of imagining and representing urban crisis is broken or absent infrastructure and the conspicuousness of dirt that this brings about. In order to keep relevant to the shitscape, my discussion is limited to sanitation infrastructure and the leaking or flooding of bodily waste as result of this.

## 2.3 Why urban sanitation infrastructure?

As stated in the introduction to this thesis, toileting practices, and their associated infrastructure, are essential parts of daily life. How and where bodies defecate, into what types of receptacles, and where that bodily waste goes to, are all crucial components of modern civilisation (Elias, [1939] 1994 ; Freud, [1930] 2002 ). Cities are inexorably linked as the ultimate spaces of modern civilisation, with the etymology of "civilisation" in civitas, the Latin word for city. Urban infrastructure, then, is woven into discussions about urban modernity and futurity. Functioning sanitary infrastructure, that which hides its connections and flows of defecatory waste, maintains urban cleanliness and civility. Conversely, the rupturing or absence of that infrastructure, and the flooding and spillage of bodily waste, is a literal and figurative breach of modernity (Graham, 2010; McFarlane, 2010).

For rapidly growing cities of the global south, infrastructure is often presented as in a state of crisis by virtue of its absence or deficiency, hindered by population growth and economic stagnancy (Black &

Fawcett, 2008; Davis, 2006; Gandy, 2006a). There is therefore a drive for urban infrastructural projects to manage and hide defecation so that the city, as well as the nation, be thought of as modern, ordered, and worldly (Graham, 2010: 4; Simone, 2001a: 16). Yet the urban landscape of many cities of the global south also bear the vestiges of colonial attempts to construct sanitation infrastructures that were, and remain, limited to elite spaces of the city, and Kampala is no exception to this (as will be explored briefly below, and more extensively in Chapter 4). Informal and "dirty" areas absent of connected, formal, and planned sanitary infrastructure are imagined and configured as in need of control and intervention (Datta, 2012). These spaces, and the people who inhabit them, are, I argue, marginalised throughout the history of urban planning in Kampala and remain abject in the city's most recent phase of sanitary development.

### 2.3.1 Abjection, dirt, and urbanity

In the 1930s, George Bataille wrote "*L'Abjection et les Formes Misérables*" (Bataille, 1993 [1934]), an essay that developed ideas about abjection in response to fascism, class struggles, and exclusion from the body politic. For him, abjection is defined as the object of exclusion, and refers to those within a given population that are "represented from the outside with disgust as the dregs of the people, populace and gutter" (Bataille, 1993 [1934]: 9). These marginalised populations are "disinherited [from] the possibility of being human" (Bataille, 1993

[1934]: 11). Abject populations can be brought about through the effects of different systems of power including, but not limited to, fascism, colonialism, and neoliberalism (Tyler, 2013: 19). Bataille contends that central to abjection is, paradoxically, inclusion: the abject population is an important component that is required to define order and boundaries. As Rizq explains, "the abject thus constitutes the very measure by which the subject defines what is 'I' and what is 'not I'" (Rizq, 2013: 5).

Julia Kristeva (1982) picks up Bataille's work on abjection and applies it to the psychosocial realm. The abject here is a concept that explains and describes bodily disgust and affect. She explores bodily functions that threaten cleanliness and integrity, such as defecation, menstruation, vomiting, and childbirth. These fluids, discharges, flows, and haemorrhages threaten to disrupt the clean and proper self. They need to be managed, and made object, so that the subject can continually (re)make bodily boundaries to be secure and hygienic (Kristeva, 1982: 3-13). For Kristeva, "the abject confronts us" as feelings of anxiety, fear, and disgust that are experienced and internalised (Kristeva, 1982: 13). These bodily affects are necessary to maintain distance so as to establish and maintain a clean and proper subjectivity.

Kristeva's work is powerful, but as Tyler (2013) points out, reliance upon the psychosocial to explain abjection runs the risk of making

abjection, and those that are abject, seem passive. This is because it ignores the processes and histories, such as colonialism, that work to create and sustain abjection. Further, scaling Kristeva's concept up from the individual body to the national can provide "a psychological alibi for 'hygienic' forms of nationalism" (Tyler, 2013: 33). In other words, this normalises abjection by neglecting, or 'actively forgetting', the lived experiences of racism and violence of, for example, colonial states (Stoler, 2011; Tyler, 2013). And, as Spivak argues, this ignorance and ambivalence fails to challenge the legacies of colonialism and "extreme Eurocentrism" that precludes other narratives (Spivak, 1992).

This is not to say that abjection should be dismissed when applying the concept to post-colonial histories because, as McClintock specifies, "abject peoples are those whom industrial imperialism rejects but cannot do without" (McClintock, 1995: 75). McClintock therefore deploys the concept of abjection in such a way that repudiates an ahistorical and universal story of abjection and instead examines its historical contradictions and interrelations in specific places and contexts. Similarly, Butler also highlights the ahistorical risks of the abject and instead places emphasis upon the actually existing social practices that constitute and produce vulnerability (Butler, 1993, 2004). This chimes with Fanon's assessment of racism in America, where he maintains that hate "is not inborn; it has to be constantly cultivated" (Fanon, 1986: 53).

This idea of a focus upon the processes involved, and the production of, abjection is important because it politicises questions of inequality and disrupts the "fixity of ideologies and technologies" (Tyler, 2013: 18) that constitute the city, for example. Thus, within the city, space can be construed as abject in opposition to that which is accepted, and suggests that ideas about dirt and sanitation are one of the mechanisms through which abjection is normalised vis-à-vis cleanliness and civility.

David Inglis (2002) argues that a turn to dirt and denigration is particularly important for those researchers that work with and in post-colonial contexts. For him, the vocabulary, representation, and symbolism of dirt, and faeces in particular, has been consistently utilised by dominant groups in colonial and post-colonial landscapes. This works to (re)produce "the cultural and biological 'inferiority' of subaltern groups and classes…through the means of representing [them] in terms that refer to the human body's capacity to create faecal waste" (Inglis, 2002: 208). Inglis argues that this takes two main forms. First, that faecal language is deployed to label the subaltern group or person as "dirty" or "filthy" to signify symbolic inferiority and insignificance in opposition to the dominant person or group. Second, that the toiletry practices can become representative of race and class characteristics (Inglis, 2002: 208-209). Butchart's (1998) work on the African body is illustrative of these dynamics. Butchart shows, via a

Foucauldian reading of the biomedical body, how faecal symbolism of inferiority and superiority is deployed to both represent African bodies as dirt and as being excrementally uncontrollable. The point here, in terms of the city, is that there is a spatiality to these representations of difference and abjection that is enacted throughout (post)colonial urban areas in the control of corporeality, which in turn affects the materiality of urban infrastructure.

Mary Douglas' (1966) influential work on dirt argues that polluting objects and reactions to disgust are related to wider systems of social beliefs and taboos. Douglas follows Durkheim in placing an emphasis on the binary nature of dirt: dirt is matter out of place, and can only be considered as filth when contrasted with that which is clean. Douglas suggests that conceptions of dirty and clean are apparent in most cultures, but that what constitutes dirt (that is, the content) is socioculturally variable. Dirt, and emotions to it, therefore functions to define the boundaries of social bodies. As Inglis writes, "[g]enerally, cleanliness is imputed to members of the in-group (our own people) rather than the out-group ('them', those people outside the boundaries of our group)" (Inglis, 2002: 209). Knowing what, or who, is "dirty" therefore "reveals the social norms and rules in operation in a given social or cultural context" (Tyler, 2013: 23).

In colonial and post-colonial urban contexts, dirt has played an important role in creating and sustaining abjection. The relationality of

dirt, and its role in defining boundaries, means that in dominant Western tropes dirt *is* abject. Prevailing interpretations of filth marginalise "dirty" people, practices, and spaces. Dirt is, therefore, a powerful form of othering. And, as mentioned earlier, the close regulation of toileting practices and what happens to bodily waste is an integral part of the Western modern civilising process (Corbin, 1986; Elias, [1939] 1994 ), and importantly dirt and civility both require a foil in order to be defined.

And whilst not wanting to privilege the colonial, it is vital to pay attention to the ways in which dirt and abjection operated in colonial Kampala as a mode of producing and ordering space, as this has physical manifestations within the contemporary city because of "effects of colonialism in the present" (Legg, 2007: 20). Thus when colonial administrations sought to exploit the resources of the colonies, ideas about dirt were one of the powerful ways through which to control the population and shape the landscape. "Native" populations were considered dirty and unruly, whereas the colonials themselves were hygienic and proper (Southall & Gutkind, 1957). Colonial administrations such as those in Uganda sought to simultaneously manage the population and to distance themselves from that which was seen as dirt.

Like Butchart, Legg (2007) and Gandy (2006a) draw upon Foucault to explore how governmental regulation of the economy, society, and

population have shaped Delhi and Lagos respectively. Legg suggests that the biopolitics of city life is an important component in mediating the practices and materiality of urban knowledge and power. For him, biopower is the "powers over life that targeted both the individual body, through techniques of discipline, and the social body, through government of the population" (Legg, 2007: 3). Thus bodies become disciplined within space, and according to (colonial) imaginations of bodily health and sanitation. Legg, and others such as Datta (2012), Yeoh (1996), and Watson (2009a), draw similar parallels in other post-colonial cities and reflect upon the physical and material legacies of colonialism. Legg suggests that the boundaries between colonial and native urban space was transgressed more than is imagined, creating "landscapes of interaction" (Legg, 2007: 2). The cordon sanitaire, however, remains a physical remnant of colonial attempts to divide urban space by virtue of the different planning practices and mechanisms that were enacted within colonial cities.

For colonial governments, space was "the raw material of sovereignty" (Mbembé, 2001: 25) as they sought to create territories and people to rule over. Urban planning was key to the colonial quest to create and legitimate order over the population; the planning of colonial towns and cities was, in part, to emulate Western ideas of order, modernity, and civility, but town planning also served to ensure distance was created and maintained between coloniser and colonised. Physical

distance was important for the coloniser because of the fear of "native" dirt and disease, but it was also important as a material reminder of colonial dominance over urban space (Beeckmans, 2013: 3).

As shall be explored below, in Kampala the space of the colonials was well planned for housing and services such as water and sewerage, whereas spaces of the city that were demarcated for Africans were absent from any planning. The inevitable health differences across the dualised city further reinforced the topographical expression of colonial power, justifying and entrenching the apparent ordinariness of hierarchy (Yeoh, 1996). Ideas about sanitation and health are still wedded to spatial imaginaries of poverty, morality, and modernity in the contemporary city. Planning has very much influenced urban order, and has itself been influenced by health and sanitation, but this relationship has shifted from a colonial rhetoric concerned with order, space, and race, to a post-colonial globalised urban rhetoric concerned more explicitly with commerce and modernity (Kamete & Lindell, 2010). Planned space, that which has been managed to edit out the unsanitary, has become indistinct from modern space, and unplanned space is perceived as backward, dirty, and unhealthy. And because reactions to dirt and disgust provoke visceral bodily reactions, the distinctions between dirty/clean and in/civility is naturalised (Tyler, 2013: 23). The following section helps to explain how toileting and bodily waste has become so intertwined with civility.

### 2.3.2 "What will make Kampala a modern city that works…"

The quote above is from Ugandan media commentator Charles Onyango-Obbo, who argues that "what will make Kampala a modern city that works is 100 per cent sewerage coverage" (Onyango-Obbo, 2012: no pagination). Onyango-Obbo argues that the lack of sanitation infrastructure is "killing Kampala" and marks the city as "dysfunctional". He implores the municipal authorities and central government to create "a central sewer system" to make Kampala a "modern urban community" (Onyango-Obbo, 2012: no pagination).

Onyango-Obbo's remarks plug into a key part of sanitation planning in that to be part of the infrastructure means to be part of a greater, civilised, entity. Hawkins' (2004, 2006) work on toilets and sanitation explicitly makes sanitation a public issue, and she makes the point that it is rarely experienced as such because of the innately private nature of toileting. She writes that,

> "Despite sanitation's massively networked connections from public waste facilities to private homes it is not experienced as a state intervention. It is just the hidden linchpin of our most intimate rituals of care. Water flows in, shit flows out, where from and where to we hardly care. The thing is that the flows are maintained, that our bathroom *works* to protect us from encountering our waste, so that certain ethical and aesthetic sensibilities

> that are fundamental to the making of the purified self will not be threatened." (Hawkins, 2006: 61)

This ties in with Elias' belief that, since the sixteenth century, European attitudes to bodily waste have shifted towards increased individualism and privacy. This has created a heightened relationship between bodily waste and feelings of shame. In Corbin's (1986) work on French affiliations with odour and civility, he too illustrates a link between waste management, urbanisation, and the simultaneous individualisation of toileting with increased state intervention in managing bodily waste. This leads Laporte to declare, "the State is the Sewer" (Laporte, 2002: 57). For Laporte, how the state manages the waste of its subjects is an important indicator of its ability to be a civilised state, meaning one that maintains cleanliness and order.

In Europe, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, miasmic theories of disease became influential in determining a link between social order and health. Olfaction has been associated as a boundary marker of social difference since such theories became popular. Edwin Chadwick's 1842 *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain* (1965) explicitly linked smell and disease. Chadwick was a leading proponent of the miasma theory of disease. Such ideas associating "bad air" and infectious diseases meant that subsequent sanitary and urban reforms focused upon behaviours, and more specifically upon the behaviours of the working-class. Indeed,

during the nineteenth century, the links between odour, dirt, and social status was so influential that whether or not a household employed a cleaner became a part of the definition of class in Seebohm Rowntree's 1899 survey of York (Cox, 2011: 47).

By the birth of the twentieth century, then, disease and smell were firm partners in determining and judging social hierarchy. Furthermore, "good" sanitation and hygiene demarcated morality and virtue, whereas "bad" hygiene, dirt, and smells connoted depravity and immorality (Cox, 2011; Frisby & Featherstone, 1997; Urry, 2000). Unsanitary smells became a marker of social disrepute and representative of threat; a lack of smell signalled cleanliness in private and public spaces. Where there was little alternative to the presence of smell, such as along sewerage channels and at sewage treatment plants, covering and zoning was offered as the best solution to achieving modern, healthy urban space (Bauman, 1993).

The connotations of dirt and smell were so firmly embedded in the European social consciousness that even Pasteur and Koch's germ theory proving the fallibility of miasma-induced ill health had little impact upon the public or medical consciousness (Curtin, 1985: 598; Home, 1997). A moral order of toileting was established, with open defecation in public as the epitome of uncivilised and (un)sanitary practice, and the contained smell of the private flush toilet as its elite other.

As will be explored below, however, whilst these ideas encouraged the planning and development of sewage systems and adoption of private flush toilets throughout European cities, widespread plans for urban sanitation were not thought to be necessary for the whole of the colonised African city. Instead, flush toilets and planned sanitary infrastructure was limited to specific areas within the city that were demarcated for settler populations only. This spatialised infrastructural inequality was, and remains, deeply enmeshed with associations of civility, morality, and order. And, as will be detailed in Chapters 5 and 6, the flush toilet remains the imagined best toileting practice in contemporary Kampala.[11] The following section explains Kampala's pre-colonial and colonial spatial configurations of sanitation and its infrastructures.

## 2.4 Imagining Kampala

Kampala's sewers trace their history to the early twentieth century and the implementation of a networked infrastructure by the British colonial administration, as Gandy finds in colonial Lagos (2006a). It

[11] To clean the body, the accepted western wisdom is to use wiping materials such as toilet paper. Some non-western toileting practices, however, use water to cleanse instead of paper. For example, Hindu, Jewish, and Muslim cultures consider the left hand as unclean, and reserve its use only for hygiene purposes (McMichael, 2000). To limit the chances of contamination, best practice is to use water rather than toilet paper to cleanse the anus after defecation, and for cleansing after urination (Allegranzi, Memish, Donaldson, & Pittet, 2009). The ideal is to have water in a pressurised mechanism, such as a hose, as this means that the hands do not have to touch faeces at all, and the pressurised water alone cleanses the body.

was imperative for the administration to construct what they saw as an adequate sanitation system to both cater for its newly arrived governing elite, and to distinguish between European modernity and "native" tradition.

These distinctions remain embedded in contemporary Kampala, and in many other post-colonial cities that bore witness to segregated town planning (for example, see Beeckmans, 2013; Datta, 2012; Kamete & Lindell, 2010; McFarlane, 2008a; Myers, 2003b; Watson, 2002). The effects, then, of colonial planning exclusively for colonials reveal itself in infrastructural differences throughout contemporary post-colonial cities such as Kampala. Historically, Kampala's elite have consistently tried to conceal bodily waste and maintain a physical distance from areas of the city that it cannot, or will not, manage. These infrastructural differences also manifest themselves in material, spatial, and temporal dynamics that mean that Kampala's inhabitants have a highly unequal and differentiated terrain of the how, when, and where of toileting. In order to explore the effects of this contemporary unequal sanitary terrain, however, necessitates a review of how Kampala is represented and imagined. I suggest that Kampala's contemporary representation as a "dirty" city with broken and inadequate sanitation infrastructure fits within the geographic imagination of African cities as developing and in a state of crisis. Just as the continent itself was imagined as other throughout colonial

endeavours, the city is itself a product of the same dynamics that helped to create a spatialisation of other that is sustained in the contemporary urban form. It is important, however, to recognise that the role that Kampala's pre-colonial social and spatial histories have played in shaping the city. It is to this that I now turn.

### 2.4.1 Pre-colonial Kampala

Kampala can trace an urbanised history to pre-colonial times, as it was the seat of power of the *Kabaka*, the King of the Buganda Kingdom. The Baganda[12] had always had a peripatetic capital, moving to wherever was deemed most appropriate within the region for numerous reasons, including to mitigate sanitation and health issues, to capitalise on trade partnerships, to assert power over particular areas of concern, and for reasons of defence (Reid & Medard, 2000: 99). The *kibuga,* or royal seat of the capital of the Buganda Kingdom, was located on hilltops, many of which now form part of modern day Kampala, providing the *Kabaka* with a symbolically and physically important settlement.[13] The mid nineteenth century, however, saw a shift from

[12] "Baganda" is the ethnonym, of which the singular is "muganda", and refers to the people of the Buganda Kingdom.

[13] The exact meaning of the term *kibuga* is disputed as meaning either the city in its entirety, or more specifically as the royal enclosure. Reid and Medard (2000) use it to refer to the former, whereas Nawangwe (2009) suggests the latter. Gutkind, however, suggests that the term has many interpretations that have "undoubtedly meant different things to different categories of people at different times" (Gutkind, 1963: 9).

the itinerant nature of the *kibuga* to a permanent site of power at Mengo hill, now a suburb in the south of Uganda's capital.

The Buganda Kingdom was a highly organised social, political, and economic system, which had a centralised government unparalleled in its administrative order by any other social system within the Great Lakes region of east Africa (Nziza, Mbaga, & Mukholi, 2011). Pre-colonial Mengo, with its high population and distinct and defined layout centred on the *Kabaka*'s palace, can certainly be thought of as urbanised area. It did, however, have a number of peculiarities that distinguish it from modern urban areas such as its mobility (being periodically relocated between neighbouring hilltops) and its singular functionality with the town's Royal focus. As Safier and Langlands (1969) and Mukwanya, Sengendo, and Lwasa (2010) point out, however, the specialisation required for conducting the day-to-day running of the Baganda Kingdom would not have been too dissimilar from the administrative functions of the colonial government, thus rendering defunct any attempts to deny Mengo its urbanity.

The *kibuga* was organised in particular spatial configurations that represented the hierarchy of the Kingdom, with the King's palace placed at the centre and his subjects housed around, with settlements radiating out from the palace in degrees of importance and along political, ethnic, economic and gendered divisions. Reid and Medard's history of Bagandan urbanisation suggests that the pre-colonial capital

symbolised the "delicate and highly-structured order" of Bagandan political society, with the social hierarchy "carefully reproduced in the highways and suburbs, in the approach to the royal palace and on the hills surrounding the *Kabaka*'s enclosure" (Reid & Medard, 2000: 106).

The spatial arrangements of the town clearly had an impact upon John Hannington Speke, one of the first white explorers to the Baganda Kingdom, who, during his search to discover the source of the Nile in the 1840s, was annoyed to discover that he was to be housed in what he considered as the *kibuga*'s slum area, "a mile from the palace, in an unhealthy place, where he [the *Kabaka*] kept his Arab visitors" (Speke, quoted in Reid & Medard, 2000: 102). The town's spatial organisation, intended as a display of importance and power, certainly seemed to irk the British visitor; but its symbolic importance was to be challenged by the establishment of Catholic and Protestant missions on the neighbouring hilltops of Rubaga and Namirembe respectively that played on Baganda symbolic notions of power and importance by constructing large buildings at the highest possible points, challenging the *Kabaka*'s dominance in the immediate region (Gutkind, 1963; Reid & Medard, 2000). The Bagandan concentration of people and power in an urbanised area was, it seems, the primary attraction for foreign missionaries and tradespeople being the region's "supranational centre" (Reid & Medard, 2000: 106), but also could be argued as the cause of the Kingdom's political demise for its very existence

represented a nodal point of power that the expanding British colonial enterprise could not resist using for their own ends.

### 2.4.2 Colonial planning

In 1894, Captain Lugard of the British East India Company established a fort on Kampala Hill.[14] Lugard estimated the population of Mengo in excess of 13,000 people and identified it, very definitely, as the strategic hub of power and populace for the ruling elite of the Kingdom (Southall, 1967). This proved to be important for the British, as they sought to manage the new Protectorate through already existing systems of rule by colluding and using African elders to achieve hegemony and legitimacy (Spear, 2003). This method of ruling indirectly meant vesting considerable power in local leaders, with the authorities displaying a particular fondness for systems that echoed their own, monarchical system of governance; the *Kabaka* thus represented a "rudimentary king" through whom they sought to rule, reworking African social practices to augment colonial power (Ranger, 1983). Mengo, the "native town" to the British, was, "an extraordinary

[14] This was a year after Sir Gerald Portal had selected Entebbe as the capital of what was to be declared as the British Protectorate of Uganda. Entebbe, a settlement on the shores of Lake Victoria, is approximately forty kilometres from the centre of Kampala. Entebbe was decided to be the healthier and more beautiful site for the core of the British colonial administration, and its "aloofness from the vortex of Ugandan affairs at Mengo and Kampala" was seen as a distinct advantage in order to maintain physical and political distance from the native capital (Southall and Gutkind, 1957: 3). Kampala, however, was the commercial hub of the Protectorate and became the capital city at Independence in 1962.

phenomenon for East Africa and impressed all who saw it" (Southall, 1967: 299), and in ruling in and through the seat of an existing power structure, the British administration were able to adopt the symbolic geographies of the existing urban Baganda from which to expand their visions of a British colonial Africa (Reid & Medard, 2000).

The colonial authorities had no intention, however, of instigating or delivering a coequal relationship with *Kabaka* and the Baganda people; rather, they intended to use him as a tool to facilitate their orchestration and rule, whilst they themselves maintained a presence in the country as overseers and administrators. This division of power manifested itself in numerous ways, including (but by no means limited to) changes in the way in which land tenure operated, and how the city itself was symbolically and politically orientated. Around Kampala Hill, twelve acres of land were gazetted, from which the British colonial administration set out to construct a settlement and trading centre that, whilst within the vicinity to the Baganda, was suitably far enough removed to maintain what a healthy distance from Mengo, considered as "a backward child" (Southall, 1967: 301). The colonial authorities set out to plan and develop areas to the north of Mengo hill, across the Nakivubo River (now Channel) at Nakasero and Kololo hills. Kampala Hill (now known as Old Kampala) was also subject to planning, but was on the south of the Nakivubo. It became the designated area for Asian households and commerce, effectively

spatially enacting racial segregation. Simatei (2011) similarly describes Indian Asian communities in urban areas in Kenya being used by early colonial planners, and he describes Indian Asians as forming a "buffer zone between 'white privilege and black misery'" (Simatei, 2011: 63). In Kampala, the Nakivubo effectively marked the cordon sanitaire that divided white coloniser from imagined Other (see Myers, 2003b for in-depth case studies that illustrate similar racial dimensions in Nairobi, Zanzibar, and Lusaka).

The colonial authorities' expansion onto the hills of Nakasero and Kololo were intended to construct residential areas that are still regarded as the most elite areas in Kampala today. This planned area, north of the Nakivubo valley, was termed Kampala Municipality; here, properties were subjected to taxes and regulation "sufficient to develop the town" (Weeks, 1962: 6). Roads were paved and street lighting was provided, along with piped water, and the installation of storm drains and sewers. In addition, the valleys below the Municipality hills were drained, for there was considerable consternation about the impact of living in proximity to what were widely regarded as malarial and unsanitary swamps. Sheldon Weeks described a divided Kampala during the 1960s: he wrote that houses in the Municipal part of Kampala "would be the pride of Palm Beach", whereas crossing into the *kibuga*, or the native capital, saw "a sharp and abrupt change" (1962: 7).

These spatial divisions were intentional, as the colonial administrations across British ruled Africa sought to use urban space as geographical articulations of power (Myers, 2003b). Myers draws upon Mitchell's work on colonial Egypt (Mitchell, 1988), who in turn adopts the concept of "enframing" from Heidegger, to describe and explain the process of "codification and maintenance of a visible hierarchy of spatial order" (Myers, 2003b: 8). The intention of this enframing of space was to make those subjects living within bounded areas much more visible and productive (Legg, 2007: 32). Myers points out that this colonial system of control through enframing rarely operated "perfectly" (Myers, 2003b: 9), and other studies detail how the cordon sanitaire was regularly transgressed and colonial urban ordering practices resisted (Legg, 2007; Robinson, 1990; Yeoh, 1996; Young, 1995).

In his analysis of British colonial power in neighbouring Kenya, Bruce Berman (1990) argues that the state needed to accomplish three key undertakings for it to achieve supremacy over those it sought to colonise: accumulation, domination and legitimation. Kampala, as the regional centre of trade and commerce, was the key site from which to gain hold of Uganda's profits, and became even more important to the administration as the Asian bazaars and trade links flourished during

the early twentieth century (Southall & Gutkind, 1957).[15] The high population density and the productivity of the land meant the area played a crucial role in the economy of British East Africa (Ford, 1955), but it also meant it was imperative to exert systems of control and management to ensure political, economic, and social domination, and legitimate a colonial presence as best possible. One of the ways in which this was achieved was via instigating and engaging the planning of urban space as an ideology of control, and as a physical manifestation of power in Mengo-Kampala (Myers, 2003b).

Kampala Municipality became a built environment that was constructed, in the manner of other British colonial urban areas, to "reflect and reinforce the colonial order" (Simon, 1992: 143). As such, the everyday spatial separation of races and their respective institutions was paramount, ensuring a somewhat more subtle form of rule rather than an overtly violent one for much of the colonial period. This "repressive geopolitics" (Young, 1995: 173) normalised social, economic and political divisions through practices of codifying and planning the city, and was vital for ensconcing colonial supremacy (Yeoh, 1996). The *kibuga* around Mengo Hill was left unplanned by the colonial authorities; it was close enough in proximity to be closely surveilled, but far enough spatially and, critically, aesthetically to be

[15] This was furthered by the extension of the east African railway into Kampala, which enabled the trafficking of goods between Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania (Ford, 1955).

classified as chaotic. In contrast, Kampala Hill and the area within the gazetted Township were subject to planning ordinances that sought to cater for the needs of the colonial settlers, whilst simultaneously enforcing an imaginary of urban space as managed and orderly. Its power was almost immediate, with the urban area becoming referred to as simply Kampala, rather than Mengo, or Mengo-Kampala. Indeed, Commissioner George Wilson was so impressed by the shift in power that the name change signalled, he was compelled to write to the Governor of Uganda, Sir Hesketh Bell, in 1906 stating that,

> "So strong and wide-spreading has been the influence of Kampala [the colonial town] that its name is superseding that of Mengo especially in the outlying countries, and it will be simpler…to retain it… as referring to the native capital as a whole… Its complete ascendency in importance over all other centres, due to its being a long established Capital of the dominant tribe, is accepted by the natives of the Protectorate without dispute" (Wilson [1906], quoted in Southall & Gutkind, 1957: 3).

Wilson's comments demonstrate the British recognition of Bagandan prominence in ruling over the area. He indicates the success of using local elites to rule indirectly, and of utilising principles of spatial hierarchy and codification that were already familiar to the local population to exert a regional hegemon. By placing the colonial

administration and their residences on hilltops adjacent to the centre of the Bagandan kingdom, they physically displayed a domineering position that challenged the authority of the ruling Bagandan classes; yet by working through the *Kabaka* and his elders, and crucially enabling clan leaders to manage land tenure, the British colonial system was able to gain a greater degree of legitimacy than would otherwise be possible (Gutkind, 1963; Mamdani, 1996).

The close proximity to such a powerful kingdom was a concern, however, for the colonial administrators, and they were acutely aware of the need to manage and control the African population as best possible. And whilst Kampala was never the official capital of the Protectorate, it was imperative that the urban area was maintained in such a way as to be as economically productive as the region promised to be. The tropics offered exciting reserves of potential wealth to the European colonial powers, but they were also conceived of as spaces of disease and mortality (Johnson, 2009); thus, the prospect of living within the same vicinity to the Ugandans not only represented a threat to the establishment of a socio-spatial hierarchy, but in the colonial imagination, such a move posed a serious risk to the health of the white (male) Europeans sent to manage the overseas territories.

To manage this shift in urban order, and to cater for the vagaries of the colonial settlers, creating suitable urbanised space was considered a top priority (O'Connor, 1983). Nineteenth and early twentieth century

European sensibilities about urban areas were very much grounded in the idea that cities were spaces of chaos and irrationality (Bridge & Watson, 2002: 5), and these fears were accentuated by the racialised nature of cities within the Empire. Direct intervention in the form of planning the urban spaces of the colonies was crucial, and cities were often modelled on existing metropolitan areas (Kamete & Lindell, 2010). For the Kampala under colonial rule, the European urban imaginary was limited to the hills that had been gazetted under Lugard's orders, and the first Kampala Master Plan in 1914 did not even acknowledge the existence of the Bagandan settlements at Mengo, leaving blank space where the urbanised area under the rule of the *Kabaka*'s was (see Chapter 4 for further details). The planned space was intended as the urban centre, the space from which power and control emanated, and in the imaginary of the colonial overlords, the planned urban area was equated with modernity and rationality, a space from which to commence the process of civilising the population; further, planned urban space was the space of colonialist escape, facilitating an idealised exotic life with the comforts of "home", yet simultaneously away from the threat of the "native" (Home, 1997; Myers, 2003b). Yet despite the absent desire to interfere in the urban planning of Mengo, the management and control of its population was nonetheless regarded as vital.

An important geographical feature that encapsulates these divisions within colonial cities is the cordon sanitaire. Professor William John Ritchie Simpson, an established authority on tropical hygiene, wrote a report in 1914 in which he advocated "a neutral belt of open unoccupied country of at least 300 yards in width between European residences and those of the Asians and Africans" (Simpson, 1914: no pagination). He promoted town planning as a way to mitigate living in proximity to other races, declaring:

> "If streets are not laid out on a definite plan and on sanitary principles or when so laid out that the houses are not subject to regulations as regards their height, depth, site, the area they cover, their relation to one another and the amount of air space to secure a free circulation of each, a congested area is soon formed in which there is too much crowding together of houses and too many houses on too small a place. These congested filthy areas are always filthy and always unhealthy." (Simpson [1908: 297], quoted in Home, 1997: 90)

Thus whilst recommending planned urban areas with wide streets and large individual private plots to house European settlers (and elite Africans in limited numbers) to promote good health, overcrowded housing in African settlements was seemingly not considered as problem to be addressed through the same methods; rather, such areas

were believed to be concentrated sites of ill health because of the "dirty habits" of the population (Home, 1997: 90). It followed that differences in urban living standards were understood and dealt with by promoting public health and educating on matters of sanitation. The empirical chapters explore the parallels between the colonial city and contemporary Kampala, and the remarkably similar ways of managing the population's bodily waste according to imaginaries of in/civility.

The planning of housing specifically for indigenous residents of the city was not introduced until after the Second World War, when the total population of the city (the *kibuga* at Mengo and the Township at Kampala) had increased from 35,394 in 1911 (Southall & Gutkind, 1957: 8) to 107,058 according to the 1959 census (Parkin, 1969: 4). The population increase was largely due to labour migration, as people moved to the city in search of waged employment following an economic boom because of the increase in import substitution industries (Parkin, 1969; Zeleza & Eyoh, 2003: 300). The city limits under the jurisdiction of the British administration were extended eastwards to cater for housing estates constructed for Africans who worked the colonial government. The Bagandan land around Mengo was not subject to town planning until 1947, when the Buganda Town Planning Law was passed. This was, however, widely regarded as a bureaucratic legal trick to quell a politically turbulent urban

population and was a failure in executing any planning or construction in the area (Southall & Gutkind, 1957: 5).

In the absence of specific planning ordinances through which to organise the population in the *kibuga* at Mengo, public health and sanitation measures became a way to monitor the population. The inevitable health differences across the dualised city further reinforced the topographical expression of colonial power, justifying and entrenching the apparent ordinariness of hierarchy (Yeoh, 1996). In the decades following Independence, however, the city's infrastructure and public health were not high on the political agenda, as the country endured significant turmoil and violence in the three decades following 1962. Accordingly, the physical infrastructure planned and developed during the colonial period maps neatly onto the contemporary city space, as it has not been developed significantly between 1962 and the turn of the millennium.

The current government administration, headed by President Yoweri Museveni since 1986, has only recently put forward an urban agenda as a government top priority, and the city's urban planning department continues to use the 1994 Urban Master Plan as its blueprint, without addendums, despite significant population and development changes in the city. The current urban shitscape is, therefore, very much a product of the city's historical planning and sanitary opinions. As will be explored in greater depth in the following

chapters, ideas about sanitation and health are still very much wedded to spatial imaginaries of poverty, morality, and modernity. Planning has influenced urban order, and has itself been influenced by health and sanitation, but this relationship has shifted from a colonial rhetoric concerned with order, space, and race, to a post-colonial globalised urban rhetoric concerned more explicitly with commerce and modernity (Kamete & Lindell, 2010). Planned space, that which has been managed to edit out the unsanitary, has become indistinct from modern space. Accordingly, unplanned space is perceived as backward and unhealthy. The relationship between planning, sanitation, and morality is not something that is unique or specific to Kampala, or indeed to other colonial cities. Rather, the structural polemic dividing un/sanitary, modern/backward, un/planned, and in/formal is embedded in the teleological biases of Western thinking, influencing how cities and urban space is understood (Low, 2005). Such reductionist tendencies enable elites to determine and prioritise where and how public infrastructures will be implemented (Parnell, Pieterse, & Watson, 2009). The desire to create modern cities can serve to exclude many urban residents living in the poorest areas, with planning implemented on a limited and ad-hoc basis, often with the intention of sanitising the area (Kamete & Lindell, 2010). The associated processes of globalisation, moreover, intensify competition

between urban centres to attract capital investment, exacerbating already existing patters of urban inequality (Watson, 2009a).

## 2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has engaged with a range of literature that is relevant to understanding post-colonial cities in Africa and the role that urban planning and sanitation infrastructures play in shaping Kampala's shitscape, the focus of my research. The chapter first addressed discourses of development and illustrated that dominant ideas of modernity and urbanity are wedded to a Western interpretation of what cities are and should be. It was suggested that the imagination of other is an important component in the configuration of what a "good" city is. This is contrasted with bad or inadequate city, and the imagination operates at a variety of scales that leads to comparisons between and within cityspace. Kampala is at once relegated to the status of inadequate by virtue of its location in the global south. Particular spaces within Kampala are imagined as dirty and slum due, in part, to the absence of sanitation infrastructure, reinforcing Kampala's position as a developing and deficient city.

Literature that grapples with conceptions of dirt and order were reviewed. Dirt was shown to be relative but the Western interpretation proved dominant, particularly when dirt is conceived of within the context of urban space. The literature illustrated that dirt is used as a basis for exclusion, (re)producing processes of abjection. The literature

made connections between the imagination of informality and dirt that is reliant upon the absence of connected, formal, and planned sanitary infrastructure. Spaces that are imagined and configured in such a way are therefore conceived of as in need of control and intervention. Smell is intimately linked to dirt, and is a sensory marker of differentiation. Dirt and smell are embedded within medical interpretations of hygiene, and medicalising discourses were used by colonial powers to monitor and surveil, and to justify racial segregation of the urban population. The effects of the geographic imaginary that is reliant upon dualisms, then, have physical, social, economic, and material manifestations within post-colonial cities.

The contemporary shitscape of Kampala is shaped by its history, as it is by urban epistemologies of modernity. Kampala is, however, much more dynamic than most modernist discourses of African urbanism allow for. Everyday life is vibrant and generative, and is full of potentialities that flow throughout the city, belying bounded conceptions of urban life along in/formal and un/planned dichotomies (Pieterse, 2006; Roy, 2005; Simone, 2004). Indeed, looking to the everyday materialities and performances of life in Kampala can unveil things that counter the dominant assumptions and discourses about the city and the people that live in it. Moreover, an everyday look at how the city's shitscape operates ultimately offers ways to challenge prevailing notions of urbanity, modernity, and sanitary

infrastructure thereby presenting alternative possibilities for thinking about and living in the city.

A conceptual framework is required that can challenge urban teleologies, and allows for enquiry as to how urban planning and development can be rethought to foster more equitable urban forms. The following chapter illustrates how postcolonial and feminist theories can help understand inequalities and how they are produced, which helps to elucidate upon the dynamics of the Kampalan shitscape throughout the empirical research.

# 3 Methodology

***Me**: So, would you mind telling me a bit more about your personal toileting habits?*

***Elliott**: What do you mean? Literally talk to you about my time on the bog? Seriously? Woh… I thought you did sanitation research. About… well. Not, like, about me.*

***Me**: Well, it's all part of the research project, as we talked about earlier. I'm interested in the ways that people think about sanitation and about toileting, and how different people do these things. I'd like to try and understand different people's perceptions of sanitation and toileting, too, and try to look at perceptions of the city, and how ideas and opinions about sanitation influence different sanitation projects in the city. So, um, for me to do that, and to look at the big picture, you know, throughout the city, I'm talking to people about their own habits, and their own bathroom time, you know, just… well, how people toilet. Not so much urination, I'm more interested in the number twos. And the where and the how. I guess the why is pretty obvious!*

***Elliott**: [laughs] Well, that's... Interesting. Certainly a different way of doing sanitation research. So… My toileting habits? Well… But… Ha! This is rather odd. It's my private time! I don't even tell my wife about this! But then, thinking about it, if I did tell my wife, she'd probably be offended. See, O.K., when I go to the bathroom, it's just me. I… well… I like going to the bathroom. I don't take the papers in, or have a bog-book or anything like that, that's quite fuddy-duddy, and I'm not my father, yet. But I do, certainly,*

*rather enjoy it. And I'm absolutely like clockwork, me, an early morning man. If I don't go then, something's wrong, or most likely, hung over to hell.*

***Me**: So, what is it exactly about going to the toilet that you enjoy?*

***Elliott**: As I said, it's me time. No one follows you in, the door is locked, and even if the phone rings, you know, the land line, I can't answer it, can I? And that's rather nice. It is a nice way to start the day [laughs], it sets me up. And sometimes, if I have it in my dressing gown pocket, I do enjoy a game or two of Sudoku on my iPhone.*

***Me**: Whilst you're having a poo?*

***Elliott**: [laughs] Yes! God, if my wife knew, she'd never use my phone again! Maybe I should tell her! But you know, if I did that at work, play on my phone, they'd think I was a slacker. But in the bog… well, it's sit down and get comfortable time, isn't it?*

(Interview with Elliott, 30 April 2011.)

## 3.1 Introduction

This excerpt from an interview with a British-born Kampala resident highlights some of the problems and tensions, as well as the personal insights and humour, inherent in research that seeks to question shitscapes. Whereas the previous chapter set out a number of themes that are relevant to an analysis of Kampala's shitscape, this chapter looks to the methods I used to investigate it. We have seen from Chapter 2 that geographical imaginations, abjection, and conceptions

of dirt are important themes that emerge from the literature on urbanity. My research materialised from these considerations but, as will be illustrated throughout this chapter, my work and the questions that I address have also been deeply influenced by particular methodological and contextual anxieties. This chapter addresses these concerns. It also describes and justifies the processes involved in selecting the location(s) of research, and how data was collected and analysed. I make clear the modes and methods of my research in the field, and to illustrate the methodological concerns of doing research on what Longhurst (2001) calls "dirty topics".

In the interview with Elliott that is quoted above, the accompanying notes in my fieldwork records show my reluctance to ask Elliott questions about how he toilets, and indicate a nervousness about what terminology to use:

> "I was unsure whether I could say 'shit'. He seemed quite 'proper'. Thought he might be offended. Opted for 'poo' and 'toileting', although later in conversation it was fine [to say 'shit']. Had explained about the project before going to see him [for this interview], but he seemed surprised when I asked him about his own, personal toileting. His assumption, he made explicit, was that I was only interested in sanitation and toileting in the slums. He seemed to suggest that because he used what he called a

> ‘conventional toilet’, read – flush, that that rendered his actions, and all others who flush, irrelevant to sanitation issues. Took some more explaining. I still think he thought I was weird.” (Fieldwork notebook, entry dated 1 May 2011.)

The apprehension expressed in the notes and during the interview can be partly explained by the novelty of the experience for me researching the topic of toileting, Elliott’s interview being in the nascent stages of what would eventually turn into 79 interviews.[16] The topic itself elicited participant surprise, and oft-hesitancy, to engage in any discussion about their own toileting habits and performances, regardless of how it is termed or phrased. The idea behind researching Kampala’s shitscape is precisely to delve into these routines and the spaces they take place in, in order to be able to examine the differences and tensions that are manifest within and across the city. The research must, then, be situated in the individual and the everyday in order to attempt an understanding of the collective. It was imperative that the interviews covered a broad spectrum of the city’s inhabitants, and that the fieldwork sites took into account the diversity of the city. Accordingly, a crucial part of the methodology employed throughout both fieldwork and the thesis itself is to try and uncover the processes linking the everyday actions and imaginations of participants

[16] See Appendix A for more information on the interviews collected during fieldwork.

throughout the city to the broader system of urban sanitation planning and management. Qualitative research methods were used, as the research topic requires a way of collecting data that is "rich in substance" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008: 50) and allows for the capturing of participants' interpretations, perspectives, and contextual experiences (Limb & Dwyer, 2001). Methods also included archival work, as well as document, and institutional analysis.

I begin the chapter by outlining what I see as a politicisation of the shitscape. I clarify my engagement with Lefebvre's work on the city by illustrating how his work on spatial production can be of use when thinking through urban sanitation infrastructures. I argue that the limitations of a Lefebvrian interpretation of how cityspace is produced in a non-Western context are considerably reduced when alterity is placed at the forefront of the research. The chapter then looks to some methodological trepidations of doing research on "dirty topics". The overall aim of the chapter is to create a methodology for analysing the shitscape that is sensitive to Kampala's multiplexity.

## 3.2 Thoughts on discussing defecation

For Kampala's inhabitants, the how, when, and where of toileting is an unequal and differentiated terrain, resulting in particular sanitary infrastructures that have acquired an imaged and lived power (as briefly illustrated in Figure 2). This, I argue, is a result of social relations and urban imaginaries that are incorporated within the

composition and materiality of the infrastructures that compose the city's shitscape. The process of connecting these situated knowledges, performances, and imaginaries of defecatory practices within a broader historical and socio-political understanding of Kampala can offer a starting point for elucidating the possibilities of change. A postcolonial feminist methodology compliments this as a means of analysing and ultimately critiquing how power operates within the city.

As with Elliott, other research participants expressed varying degrees of disbelief when I wanted to talk about toileting. Moreover, the incredulity and reticence was particularly noticeable when it came to discussing *their* bodily waste, rather than other people's. Whilst it is true to say that this is in part to do with a general squeamishness about bodily waste, and faeces in particular (Black & Fawcett, 2008), talking about bodily waste is, at times, uncomfortable. How and where and when people do their toileting is intimately linked to privilege and power, and questioning this can be threatening.

Elliott made the assumption that research about urban sanitation is inevitably about "bad" sanitation and behaviour, and he links this unequivocally to particular sites in the city, specifically to what he terms "slums". Asking Elliott questions about his own toileting practices is, to him, irrelevant. He is one of Kampala's elite residents, living and working in the diplomatic sphere, and because he is not

poor himself he has never been asked about his own bodily waste as his toileting circumstances are considered the ideal.[17]

To conceptualise the shitscape, then, and to question why there is such reticence to discuss the individual's act of bodily waste expulsion, should, following Young, "begin with the concepts of domination and oppression" (Young, 1990: 3). Yet to do this successfully, and without offence, involves careful forethought, planning from the initiation of research to completion. Qualitative research often involves unforeseen circumstances and reactions from participants and within the location, causing the researcher to adapt and possibly reconfigure the research accordingly (Bachmann, 2011). The constantly shifting sands of the research process necessarily modifies the relationship between the researcher and her/his participants, and this often requires on-the-spot adjustments that affect the researcher/researched's positionality.

The exchange between Elliott and myself is an evocative glimpse into the ways that I have defined and researched Kampala's shitscape. Elliott describes the cleaning of the (flush) toilet and the bathroom as his wife's job to oversee, and the maid's job to do. If, however, the septic tank needs emptying or the pipes are blocked, this is his job to assess and then to employ a third party to mend. His house has two bathrooms, and an outside latrine that is only used by the gardeners, the *askaris* (security guards), and maids. For Elliott, this racialised and

[17] Excluding medical contexts.

class-based spatial toileting arrangement is he says, "appropriate. Appropriate for my family, and my employees. And appropriate for our convenience." When I pushed him on the meaning of appropriateness, he replied somewhat testily, "For goodness sake, it's a necessity. Without bathrooms, we'd be using the bush. Totally uncivilised. We don't live upcountry and we're not heathens!" (Interview with Elliott, 30 April 2011.)

He is surprised that my research on urban sanitation would incorporate him, and others like himself and his family. He assumes that his privileged position within Kampala's society renders him not of interest to someone conducting research on sanitation, for his subjectivity precludes him from participating in the problematic shitscape. For Elliot, sanitation is imbued within a binary of those who present problems and require remediation, and those that do not.

The conceptualisation of sanitation in this dualist manner separates the Other from the domain of the privileged (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992). It places deficient sanitation within a separate frame of analysis that "spatially incarcerates" difference (Appadurai, 1988), confining certain areas of the city as not only different but as places that lack. My interest in Elliott's sanitary practices, and by implication the practices of idealised toileting, challenges the distinction between deficiency and possession. The questioning of the everyday practices and imaginations of sanitation and toileting of different social classes and

across different areas of the city is intended, then, to do exactly that – challenge social categorisations and practices that reproduce and reinforce class and other labels of difference (Katz, 2004).

Accordingly, the shitscape is intended as a descriptive and a methodological tool to rethink the authoritative knowledge about urban sanitation, and the regulating fiction of cities in the global north as more advanced. I draw upon Collier and Lakoff's (2005) idea of "regimes of living", which they describe, in part, as a methodological aid that

> "refer[s] to a tentative and situated configuration of normative, technical, and political elements that are brought into alignment in situations that present ethical problems – that is, situations in which the question of how to live is at stake" (Collier & Lakoff, 2005: 23).

Ethical problems of toileting are bound up with questions of health, civility, aesthetics, and modernity, which produce and reinforce distinctive spatial arrangements that reflect superiority and inferiority in the city. To understand Kampala's shitscape requires deciphering how the city is produced, valued, and managed by people who must defecate in very different circumstances. Yet, many of the terms and concepts that have been deployed to describe Kampala, and many other cities of the global south, obscure the interconnections between

different places and lives because of the dominance of "the familiar metonyms of underdevelopment" (Roy, 2011: 223). Intervention, in the form of "development", is therefore required, as an interceding project that looks to the future to promote bringing place and people forward into the modern world (Ferguson, 1999). Temporality, then, plays a pivotal role in development because, by dividing up time, it becomes possible to define a distinct typology of progress (Kothari, 2010). This leads to certain contemporary places and people being assigned to the past, with distinctions being drawn between those that are in need and those that can bestow things upon the needy. Place and public become geographically demarcated by development, ascribing a rationale and justification for where development can take place and who can do the bequeathing (Ferguson, 1999, 2006; Kothari, 2010). Thus, Kampala is not only imagined as a spatialised "over there", but also as temporally "back there".

The shitscape, then, provides a slightly different (although related) means for understanding the project of development as one of asserting and maintaining power. Development, as a discipline and a theory, is however a rather unreflective lens through which to analyse the processes and connections of urban life precisely because of its virtue of continually looking forward and dividing space into temporal increments that denote progress. The purpose of such rhetoric is "to convince, to persuade, that this (and not that) is the way

the world actually is and ought to be amended" (Crush, 1995: 5). The role of development is to promote and to justify intervention. For toileting and sanitation, this means considering what types of materials and practices are required, and whether or not these should be implemented in different spaces. In order for this development discourse to operate effectively, its apparatus – encompassing NGOs and industry, documents and images – operates within a global network of power that influences how and what we know about the world. Accordingly, Escobar describes development as "an apparatus that links forms of knowledge about the Third World with the deployment of forms of power and intervention, resulting in the mapping and production of Third World societies" (Escobar, 1995: 213). It must be seen, Escobar argues, in relation to modernity; development constructs that which is modern, and of the time or future, and conversely that which is not modern enough is relegated to a past time-space. Development is a fundamentally spatial and temporal process that problematises space as less developed and then prescribes strategies of intervention that are designed to develop, or to pull forward places that are back in time.

Ultimately, development is a largely futile process precisely because of the nature of how it frames space and time; somewhere is always advancing, and therefore somewhere else is always behind. Further, as Tanya Murray Li argues, contemporary liberal development practices

depend upon a compelling "will to improve" that perpetually reproduces the circumstances required to endorse and maintain further interventions (Li, 2007: 2). Development thus prevails as the pervading frame of enquiry and management of large parts (if not all of) Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and seems to be experiencing a renaissance as global geopolitics shifts focus to matters of security in the wake of the declaration of the "War on Terror" (Duffield & Hewitt, 2009). Development, having materialised from colonial practices of control and administration (Kothari, 2005), once again sees a degree of paternalism in its desire to improve and ameliorate certain socio-economic spaces and conditions, with contemporary practices justified partly by this securitised rhetoric of global improvement and safety.

Socio-spatial inequality, then, has been perceived and created, managed and sustained, for as long as there has been knowledge of other spaces and places; it is this *knowledge* of the other that enables the management of space, place, and people through mechanisms as diverse as politics, technology, and ideology (Said, 2003). Knowledge is entwined with power. Foucault writes that "it is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge, it is impossible for knowledge not to engender power" (Foucault, 1980b: 52). Power, according to Foucault, is exercised and used, and is not something that is just to be had and possessed. The recursive relationship between power and knowledge necessarily means that to maintain and produce

knowledge is to maintain and (re)produce power; further, the way that power operates is "as something that circulates [and is] employed and exercised" (Foucault, 1980a: 98). Thus, power functions in the everyday arena, via interactions, practices and representations, rather than as a purely top-down, centralised phenomenon. It is here that Lefebvre's understanding of spatial production is so critical to deciphering Kampala's shitscape.

### 3.2.1 Interpreting cityspace

To try and understand Kampala's defecatory practices and materials there is an imperative to understand how the city is itself known, interpreted, represented, and understood. But it is also important to understand how these interpretations and representations influence the routines and daily practices of the city's inhabitants. This interpretation of power vis-à-vis the city is inspired by Lefebvre's conceptualisation of the spatial production as a triptych (see Chapter 1.2). Both Lefebvre and Foucault concern themselves with knowledge and power, and how this influences and regulates bodies within space. For Lefebvre, however, space is a product of the body, as it is perceived and conceived, whereas Foucault's interpretation understands space as an architectural mode of bodily confinement and discipline, thus imposing space upon the body. Whilst they no doubt had differing objectives, the distinction between Lefebvre and Foucault

has methodological implications for how this research is conceived, conducted, and interpreted.

For Lefebvre, corporeality is itself productive. Lefebvre's spatial *production* necessarily implies that defiance and resistance to hegemony is possible; Lefebvre is overtly political in his aim, stating that the process of revealing how space is produced "permits [us] to show how consciousness and thought, without omitting the real, tend towards the possible" (Lefebvre [1980: 50], quoted in Stewart, 1995: 611). By employing a Lefebvrian understanding of space and power, I endeavour to use the shitscape not only as a mode of analysis, but also as a tool that can illustrate the transformative power of urban relations to work towards a city that functions and operates for and around its inhabitants.

Methodologically, a Lefebvrian analysis seeks out how space is produced in the everyday. Lefebvre, however, recognised that the analysis of space is not a sole heuristic device for understanding urban processes; his insistence upon historically grounded materialism suggests that temporality is an integral component, and works hand-in-hand with spatiality. Space and time are, then, "interrelated and dependent upon each other" (Elden, 2004: 194). Further, Lefebvre's expositions on rhythmanalysis place the space-time patterns of bodies at the forefront of his consideration on the urban (Lefebvre, 2004). He

suggests that everyday life has a cadence – everyday life flows, is networked, and often follows patterns. The everyday is

> "simultaneously the site of, the theatre for, and what is at stake in a conflict between great indestructible rhythms and the processes imposed by the socio-economic organisation of production, consumption, circulation and habitat" (Lefebvre, 2004: 73).

In all its diversity and multiplicity, everyday rhythms that coalesce upon the body are what informs and directs and produces difference.

Lefebvre builds upon a Marxist interpretation of social change to suggest that the corporeal rhythms of the everyday are the very cadences that structure state and capital. And whilst his writings favour space and rhythm as methodological lenses, Lefebvre recognises the role that class and population structure play in shaping the urban (Elden, 2004; Lefebvre, 1991b; Soja, 1989). The combination of an emphasis on space and rhythm, along with an emphasis on urban class, thus potentially lends itself to a fitting methodological approach for thinking through both the material experiences and the structural dynamics of the shitscape.

There are some distinctive disadvantages in drawing upon Lefebvre to develop a methodological framework for an analysis of toileting practices. Perhaps the most urgent redress is that Lefebvre's

elucidations upon the histories and representations of space are unequivocally Western and do not explicitly take into account gender or race. To work towards this redress, however, demands an attention to the myriad categories of social differentiation that operate in particular time-spaces. In Kampala, informality is a key trope of difference-making (Appelblad Fredby & Nilsson, 2012; Sengendo, Oyana, Nakileza, & Musali, 2001). But my research also highlights how gender, class, and race play important roles in affecting the city's shitscape. Feminist and postcolonial scholars help to complicate understandings of difference as Self and Other, and allow for an understanding of the subject's positionality as shifting and multiple. Thus, to better understand how such processes of difference-making operate within Kampala, my methodology must enable an understanding of how the city is shaped and imagined by the urban elite, and the planners and developers, alongside the material practices of diverse bodies.[18] That is, to consider the relationships between objects, bodies, and space, how they influence each other, and affect bodily performances. In this way, the city is not seen as textually or dialogically created and interpreted in tangible form, but rather in a methodological manner that "makes possible an apprehension of how

[18] My understanding of the urban elite is informed by Myers (2003b), who defines this group of people as those who dominate the tactics of enframing and articulating the city. The urban elite includes technocratic planners and developers, but also those who have a high standard of education and are well connected politically, socially, and financially (also see page 95).

spatial stories are also material, created and known through the body in a phenomenological sense" (Daya, 2011: 489).

Such close-up attention to bodies, materialities, and spatial production speaks to an explicit embracing of urban multiplicities in an effort to underline how difference and inequality is created and maintained within cityspace. This processual take on the city – on the materiality and historicity, and the affects and effects vis-á-vis everyday life – is an important methodological attempt to engage ethnographic research with critical urban geographies to explore contemporary Kampala. Thus, materialist geographies that that pay attention to the importance of material historicity and the politics of that which is considered waste (for example, see Bulkeley & Gregson, 2009; Nicky Gregson & Crang, 2010) echo feminist and postcolonial agendas that seek to enlighten the role of politics and power in sustaining inequalities in the everyday arena.

Thus far, this chapter has begun to construct a theoretical framework for methodological purposes. I have fleshed out the concept of the shitscape and put forward ideas that it is, in part, produced by historical antecedents, particular imaginations of urbanity, development narratives, conceptions of dirt and sanitation, and who and where is in need (and deserving) of intervention. The chapter has outlined the importance of power as a tool and mechanism for constructing and sustaining alterity within the shitscape, and has

argued for an interpretation of the production of urban space to reveal and untangle toileting multiplicities within the context of Kampala. Given Lefevbre's aforementioned weaknesses in addressing particular categories of difference, I turn now to a brief discussion on feminist interpretations of bodies and space. The intention here is to highlight the importance of how difference functions across a variety of scales. Feminist theory provides some guidance for how to treat the body in its full material state. For the purposes of this research, then, this turn to the body places a focus upon bodily functions as the core of the shitscape. It is, after all, bodies that defecate.

## 3.3 Dirty topics

For Robyn Longhurst (2001), exploring "dirty topics" is important for several reasons. She finds interest in the messy, squelchy, oozy, and sticky; she also argues that thinking, writing and exploring spit, urine, and other messy bodily fluids helps contest knowledge of boundaries, bodies and space. It challenges the Geographical academy to think through things that, historically, the discipline has not had an interest in. Men, argues Rose (1993), have long dominated the discipline, and thus the dominant themes addressed within Geography have dealt with things that interest the dominant group; the dirt, mess, and liquidity of bodies was not something that concerned them, or was deemed worthy of research. It was, indeed, Othered.

To study "dirty topics" is not "just about what counts as geographical knowledge but also about *who* counts as a bearer of geographical knowledge" (Longhurst, 2001: 25, emphasis in original). To ignore or edit out the mess and the fluid is not just to present a cleansed body; it is a political move that reinforces hierarchy. This observation of editing out certain forms of material being in order to reinforce hierarchies of power resonates with the postcolonial and poststructuralist desire to destabilise identity and subjectivity boundaries in order to uncover and challenge hierarchy; yet, as Longhurst notes, these texts "seldom refer to the actual materiality and fluidity of the body itself" (Longhurst, 2001: 23). This is problematic for this research because to ignore corporeal gooiness is to ignore the fundamental component of the shitscape.

To write about the practices of toileting in detail is, in part, to write about that which is "out of place" (Douglas, 1966). It is about boundaries, of many different forms, and how these are constructed, maintained, legitimated, and defied. And for the boundary to operate, there is the other, the abject, the reject, taking various forms, all of which are interdependent and related, and yet distinct. Following McClintock (1995), who argues that abjection was fundamental to colonialism, the rejected object, (here, bodily waste), is different from the rejected state (unhygienic or filthy). So too is a distinction made between the abject zone – here, the slum and the agents of abjection,

the development workers, urban planners, and health and social workers. There are, McClintock continues, socially abjected groups (for example, slum-dwellers), psychic processes of abjection (such as disapproval and negation), and political processes such as slum upgrading that work together to invent and police the "dangerous classes" (McClintock, 1995: 5). So, yes, this research about the shitscape is informed by Lefebvre's spatial production, but it involves a method of research that follows bodily waste, in all its smelly, sticky, runny glory, to search for the corporeal, the material, and the multiplex of city life, to seek out how these various states of abjection operate within the city. The methodology that underpins this research is, then, placing an emphasis upon relationality within the production of the city itself. But, perhaps more importantly, the methodology draws attention to the fact that *all* bodies produce and excrete waste. This means that *all* bodies, all inhabitants of the city, are involved in producing the shitscape, not just those that are involved in the physical planning of the shitscape's planned infrastructure, or those who are identified as problematic, who defecate in unsuitable places and things.

This research project therefore has an obligation to follow that which may be perceived as powerful and dangerous (Grosz, 1998), and this can lead to a myriad of problems for the researcher within the field, one of which is questioning the viability, and indeed the validity, of

researching bodily waste – as highlighted by Elliot in the opening vignette of this chapter. Indeed, academics also question toileting and defecation as a valid and worthy research topic, as the editors of a 2002 special issue of *Postcolonial Studies* discovered, when, in response to a call for papers on toileting cultures, they found themselves "flooded with an unprecedented profusion of responses: the majority inappropriately condemnatory" (Dutton, Seth, & Gandhi, 2002: 139). Yet, as the articles included in the issue demonstrate, and others such as Pickering (2010), Jewitt (2011), McFarlane (2008b), and Datta (2012), as well as my own research, bodily waste and toileting practices are a vital part of everyday life and are deeply imbued with politics (Appadurai, 2001).

Feminist theorists such as Katz (2004) and Valentine (2001) echo Longhurst (2001) and Rose's (1993) sentiments in that they are all, albeit in different ways, searching and arguing for legitimation, both of the researcher and their (feminist and corporeal) research, and of the people whose fleshy, leaky bodies are detailed in the research. But as well as researching the leakiness of participants' bodies, feminist theories also highlight the importance of acknowledging the researcher's own body. This involves a methodological obligation to be reflexive, to be cognizant of the relationship between the researcher's body, its messiness, and the control (or lack of) over it, and how this affects, and is in turn affected by, the research participants. This is

explored throughout the empirical chapters, and also in the section on reflexive toileting on page 113, but I turn first to a clarification on why I believe a methodological focus upon the bodily aspects of the everyday are important.

## 3.4 Sanitary matters

In a pilot study of Kampalan city space during the summer months of 2010, I was determined to find a "hook" into analysing how the city functioned. In particular, I was interested in looking at how difference was discussed in the city. I was familiar with the city from previous work there, and understood that Uganda's capital consisted of extreme wealth and poverty, often sandwiched together in close proximity. But this oppositional approach disguises much of city life, and I found myself drawn to thinking of the city as a whole – how it functions, how it is constructed, and how it is imagined. I was also deeply interested in things that happen to us all, to all bodies, in order to examine the differences that divide them. It was an encounter with a street hawker that initiated my interest in matters sanitary (see Chapter 5). I asked the lady, whom I came know as Prossie, if she knew where the nearest public toilets were, and on finding out that they were a good distance away, I asked her (perhaps impertinently) where she went. She laughed, and replied that when she was working, she *just did not go*. This control over her bodily functions and needs seemed incredible, and I was determined to find out more.

To understand how a variety of bodies manage their waste, and how this takes places and comes to matter requires, I believe, a methodological commitment to follow the everyday (Dyck, 2005; Hart, 2004; Lees, 2003), and indeed to recognise the "multiple sites of agency in the world beyond the human" (Hawkins, 2009: 188). To inquire about sanitation is, certainly, to inquire about its infrastructure, but it is also very much about the routine acts of toileting, performativity, and materiality. This brings together Lefebvre's (1991b) concern with the importance of the politics of everyday trivialities with Robinson's (2006) call to challenge the received wisdoms about cityness, to look to the political associations imbued within the sanitary materiality of urban life. Whilst there is a burgeoning literature on urban infrastructures, much of it tends to shy away from the "down and dirty" performativities of everyday toileting. The focus has tended towards the trope of catastrophe and infrastructural politics (Gandy, 2006a, 2008; Graham, 2010; Kooy & Bakker, 2008; McFarlane, 2008; McFarlane & Rutherford, 2008), and upon defecation's (arguably more palatable) sanitation partners, water and rubbish (Fredericks, 2006, 2008; Gandy, 2006b; Kimani-Murage & Ngindu, 2007; Swyngedouw, 2012).

A focus on the everyday aspects of toileting, then, places an emphasis upon the politics of urban materialities that often follow different trajectories to city planning and its concurrent (mega)projects. There is

a politics to defecation that does more than to disrupt the hierarchies of urban analysis; rather, the performativity and materiality of defecation offers a way of thinking through the struggles, negotiations, and emotions inherent in iterative, everyday acts (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001; Scott, 1985; Simone, 2010). How the shitscape operates in the everyday enables a focus upon the very messiness of urban life, and the inherent (and productive) struggles therein; it fosters ways of thinking that grapple with the practicalities of "how urban life takes place and gets done" (Swanton, 2011: 345). This allows discussions about infrastructure and "things" to be unfastened from the lens of accumulation, allowing other interrelated interpretive trajectories of performativity (Butler, 1990; Nicky Gregson, 2011; Nicky Gregson et al., 2010; N. Gregson, Watkins, & Calestani, 2010), materiality (Hawkins, 2006, 2009; Whatmore, 2006) and potentiality (Pieterse, 2006; Simone, 2004, 2010) of everyday urban life. The overall intention, then, of the methodology is to try and uncover the processes linking the broader system of urban development with the tensions that manifest themselves in different spaces of the city.

The methodology laid out here provides a framework that guides the way in which data was collected (discussed below), as well as the way in which the data is presented and analysed, as will be explored in Chapters 4 to 7. The research data is historically grounded, and looks to everyday bodily functions, rhythms, and materiality to better

understand the differences therein and how this plays out across cityspace. I focus upon the city as an integrated entity, and as such I chose not to have specific research sites. Rather, as will be explained in the following section, I chose to interview and observe a cross-section of Kampala and its inhabitants. In doing so, the research aim was to generate thick descriptions of everyday life, of ordinariness, in order to see the city as an assemblage of social relations and how they operate to produce socio-spatial difference. The following section details the rationale of selecting where to do the research, and who to do research with. I discuss the techniques of collecting data, including interviewing and observing, and I consider my own positionality within the research.

## 3.5 Studying the shitscape

The selection of where to conduct research about the shitscape is an imperative component of a methodology that has an aim is to explore how the shitscape is constituted, and to explore the resistances within it. Kampala was decided upon partly because it is a city I know and have prior experience of; I had a network of contacts I could draw upon for this research, as well as knowledge of the city itself. This proved to be extremely useful when the fieldwork was in its nascent stages in particular, as there was little need to familiarise myself with how to get around, or where particular places are located.

The research was broadly ethnographic in that it sought to "to understand the social meanings and activities of people in a given 'field' or setting" (Brewer, 2000: 59). Ethnographic research in the manner of what Geertz (1998) calls "deep hanging out", seemed an appropriate way to engage with the messiness of daily lives. The ethnographic methodology encourages fieldwork in what might be termed an intense manner; it is a process of spending an extended time in one place, in which the researcher builds up trust and personal relationships with those that live there, and observing others' daily lives.

My research in Kampala would meet the criteria of ethnography in that I spent a long period of time in the city (about eight months in total), and built up a network of participants with whom I could learn from, interview, and observe. The research was multisited, as interviews and observations were conducted in numerous places throughout the city. As detailed below, this allows for an ability to explore the relationships between supposedly disparate components. It draws upon James Clifford's (1997) promotion of ethnography that diverges from a bounded experience of culture, identity, and place, and instead expounds a methodology that pays attention to multiplicity and processes, to "routes", as well as to "roots". Massey (2005) and Simone (2004), both of whom see distinction in a processual

research practice that seeks to address the multiplex of urban space, echo Clifford's ideas.

This does, however, have its detractors, particularly amongst anthropologists unhappy with the discipline's shift away from long-term and localised ethnographic research. Clifford Geertz rather damningly describing Clifford's pluralistic-site methodology as "sort of middle-distance, walk-through research" (Geertz, 1998: 72). Friedmann questions the ability to extract meaning from research that is not 'deep'; he states, "without deeper ethnographic investigation into how people actually engage…there is a tendency to conflate our own emics with those of the people we are attempting to understand" (Friedman, 2002: 23).

There is, I think, merit in both arguments. I nonetheless lean towards research that seeks to understand the connectivity in the everyday, and the power relations therein. Friedmann's questioning of the validity and ability to interpret ethnographic research is an important one, however, and he makes the point that researchers must query who the interpretation is by, and who it is for (Friedman, 2002: 23). Perhaps one of the ways in which to do this most thoroughly and successfully is to employ reflexivity throughout the research process, and to be mindful of my position within the research from the project's conception, through fieldwork, to completion. I also discuss reflexivity and

positionality, but before then, I discuss the selection of fieldwork sites and the use of a transect across Kampala.

### 3.5.1 Fieldwork sites: following a transect

As a result of my decision to carry out research in Kampala, I was faced with the selection of fieldwork sites (to orient the reader to the city, please see the maps on pages 4 and 5). Cognizant of my methodological aims to follow the ways in which space is produced throughout the city, coupled with a feminist and postcolonial emphasis upon analysing a mixity of bodies, I was wary of the power-laden processes of categorising and labelling people and space in the city. Therefore, I chose not to explicitly focus the research upon the city's "slums", or within specific areas of the city on the basis of class specifically because of the stasis and fixity that such classifications produce (Massey, 2005). The theoretical framework emphasises the need to include all bodies that materially contribute to the shitscape, not just those that are abject subjects.

For practical purposes, a study that could achieve anywhere near an analysis of all inhabitants of the city was impossible. I therefore elected to use a transect of the city to guide me across and through the city, and from where I could encounter the everyday lives of its inhabitants. Rather than choose a path to follow myself, I decided to use an already existing conduit that traverses across much of Kampala, and one that plays an integral role in managing the defecatory products and

materials of the city. I decided to use the Nakivubo Channel as my guide through Kampala, using its course as a transect. This enables the project's theoretical and methodological aims to be met as best possible – following the channel enables the linking up of material bodies and toileting practices across urban space with the infrastructure associated with toileting. It also facilitates a study of expert imaginaries of sanitation infrastructure.

The Nakivubo Channel is the only major open drainage channel in the city, running through the city centre in a general west-to-east direction, from Bat Valley near Makerere University, through the centre of town, coursing through the city's sewage works, and then out through the Nakivubo wetlands and out to Lake Victoria (nine kilometres in total). The map shown in Figure 3 shows the Nakivubo Channel in relation to Kampala's districts and to Lake Victoria.

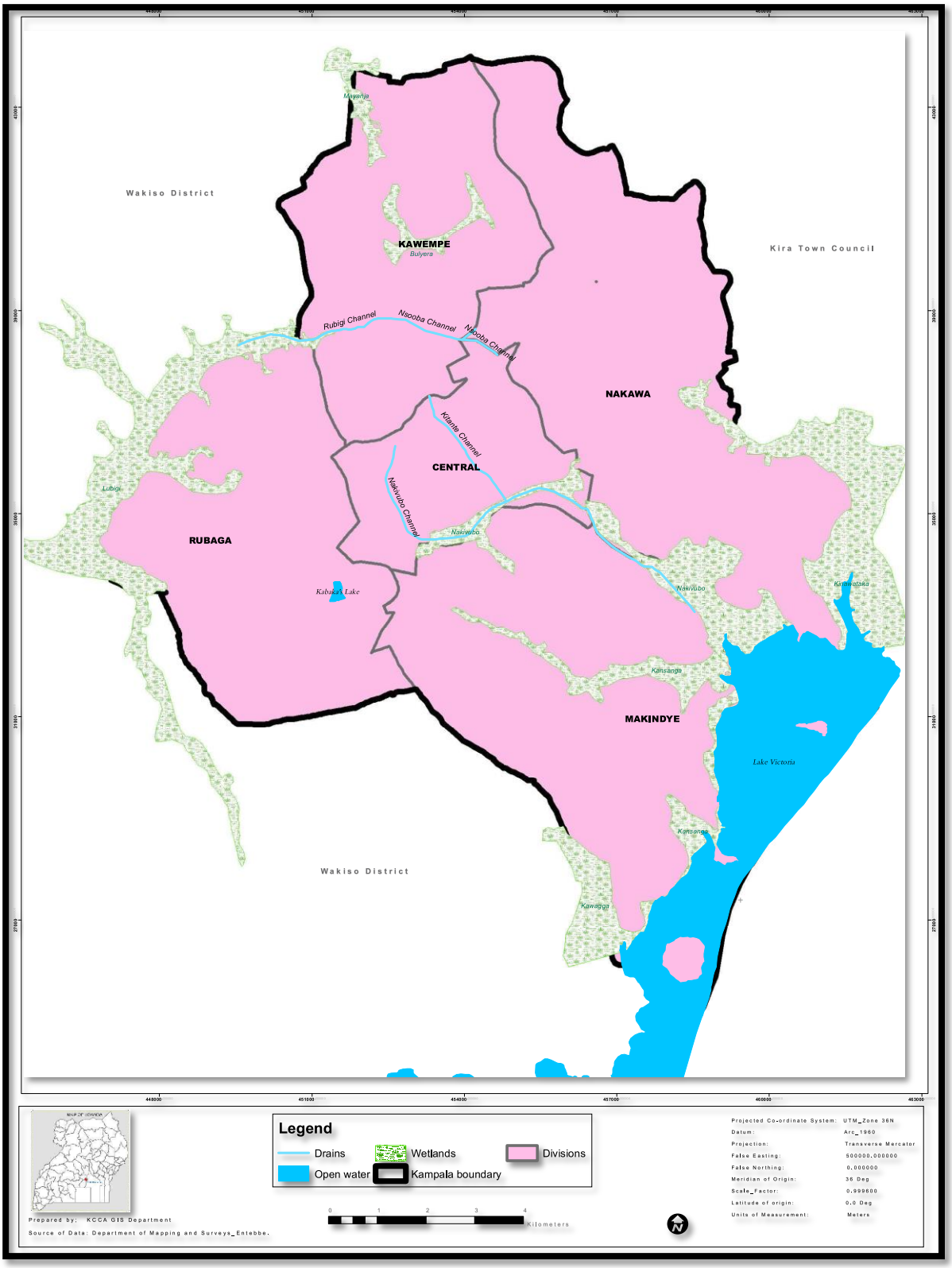


**Figure 3 Kampala's divisions and main drainage channels, including the Nakivubo, Kitante, and Nsooba**

***Source*: Image created for author by KCCA GIS Department**

The Nakivubo's course takes it through the central business district, through middle and high income housing areas, industrial zones, and informal settlements, meaning that it encounters a huge variety of claims to its surrounding space, sewerage tributaries, and network operations. The Nakivubo wetlands are also the site of a major sewerage development plan, as set out in the Kampala Sanitation Master Plan (NWSC, 2004a; 2004b; also see Chapter 4). The constituent elements of the Channel, from residents living and businesses located nearby, to the community-based organisations, city planners, and those involved in the management of the city's water and sanitation, could then be identified during the fieldwork. The empirical process of data collection was initiated by this process, and commenced the ethnographic research to help determine the various manoeuvres within the defecatory assemblage.

The use of a transect is a somewhat provocative. A transect is, after all, itself a representation of space, and it could be argued that by using a transect, I am producing a representation of the city without truly looking at how it itself is produced. However, my methodological decision to try and understand how toileting is perceived and lived, and how this influences interpretations of the city, meant that I needed a choice of site(s) that would allow me to do the research without following or relying upon the lines drawn by bureaucrats or dominant imagineers of the city. I am not, for example, using the transect in the

manner that urban designers and planners use them. I am not using the transect as a method to zone land use, as described by Alexander Cuthbert (2011); nor I am I using it as a "system that seeks to organise the elements of urbanism" (Talen, 2002: 294). Rather, the transect is offering a guide from which to see, to walk, and to experience the city. It offers a multiple concept of space, and is a method of exploring the street-level vocabularies, techniques, and practices that constitute the shitscape, rather than acting as a linear point upon which design and development is imposed.

Following the Nakivubo Channel enables encounters with an incredible variance of the city's toileting assemblage that it seemed an appropriate walkway through which to encounter everyday ordinariness (Middleton, 2009). In addition, the Nakivubo Channel is a key conduit for the city's waste, and is itself a crucial constituent of Kampala's management of bodily waste. The Nakivubo seeps through the city's only sewage treatment plant, acting as the drainage medium for a considerable proportion of Kampala's sewered faeces; but it is also the receptacle of feculence from within countless individuals' bottoms, plastic bags, buckets, hanging toilets, and latrines that are emptied and evacuated into the Nakivubo and its tributaries.

The Nakivubo as transect, then, is a "multiplicity of stories so far" (Massey, 2005: 189), in which different constituent parts and actors interact, disagree, hold together, imagine, and utilise the channel. And

it is this multiplicity of stories that elucidates how the shitscape, and indeed the city, is produced. The Nakivubo Channel thus ceases to be just a sewerage disposal point or as a point from which to be voyeuristic; it is transformed into an assemblage of interactions full of histories, politics, and potential that is "nonetheless structured through power relations and information control" (MacFarlane, 2009: 12).

The fieldwork, post-pilot study, began in earnest with archival research at the University of Edinburgh Library, Rhodes House at Oxford University, and the British Library. The purpose was to identify colonial records that detailed the planning and expansion of Kampala, the fruits of which have been touched upon in Chapter 2 and will be further explored in Chapter 4. I describe the process of collecting and analysing archival data below.

### 3.5.2 Searching through the archives

I did not intend to conduct a comprehensive archival search, but rather went to the archives with the intention of identifying records about the nature, plans, and construction of Kampala. I was particularly interested in finding material about the city prior to and during colonial occupation, as it was important for the research to be able to discuss the history of the city's physical, imagined, and lived spaces.

Documentary archives, and the textual products contained within, may house all manner of material, and in many guises; yet, Stoler

(2002: 90) warns scholars who adopt an historical perspective that the colonial archives are not "inert sites of storage and conservation". She suggests, rather, that the process of documentary analysis within the archives is an ethnographic one rather than an extractive one, because the archive is itself a site of knowledge production and is not simply a site of repository and retrieval.

Stoler queries the notion that documents are factual, and suggests that the very authenticity of the product is questioned because of the particular social and political conditions that produced the both documents and the archive. The colonial archive was, after all, produced by foreign authorities who may have misinterpreted events, sought to present a particular interpretation, or quell certain voices altogether (Ellis, 2002). To privilege the document as a source of veracity is to ignore the political power that goes into its construction (Jewsiewicki & Mudimbe, 1993). A reading of the archive both "along and against the grain" (Stoler, 2009) is necessary in an effort to understand how the events and "truths" described within the archive were defined and conceptualised by the authorities that produced them. Further, a reading of the archive must be cognisant of what has been omitted altogether – the "silence" within the documentary collection is vitally important too. Understanding what and who is absent can elucidate the epistemologies of colonial practice and perception, and reveal the ontologies that influenced city space.

Thus, my archival research on and about (pre)colonial Kampala was largely an attempt to look for plans of the city as it was imagined, and for plans to make the future city. It was an effort to research what the authorities anticipated for the city, and what they thought of the existing city space. In those plans and records, however, were obvious silences, including large areas of Kampala that were occupied and lived in but completely left off the record, represented as blank space on the maps of the city. This will be examined more closely in Chapter 4, but suffice to say for now that this representational absenteeism is a combination of ideology and knowledge that is produced by, and is itself productive of, political power that serves to influence who can use urban space (Lefebvre, 1991b: 40-51).

The archives and plans of Kampala provided a useful starting point for the fieldwork, and acted as a prompt for further questioning of the conceptualisation and lived-use of the city. Read in conjunction with a Lefebvrian spatial analytic, Kampala-as-archive yielded strands of inquiry for interviews and observation, methods to which I now turn.

### 3.5.3 Walking and observing

The contextual contemplations, research questions, and the methodological and ethical concerns in the previous sections are attempts to grapple with the relational dynamics and processes of power that shape parameters of acceptability through time and space in Kampala, Uganda. The research design attempts to engage with

methods that enable detailed and nuanced analysis, rather than purely descriptive or statistical interpretations that are ill equipped to grapple with sensitive topics and abstract from social positions and social relations (Lee, 1993: 101). In its broadest sense, the research methodology is ethnographic, in that the research seeks "to understand parts of the world… as they are experienced and understood in the everyday lives of people who 'live them out'" (Crang & Cook, 2007: 1). The ethnographic research was conducted along the Nakivubo Channel, and along its main tributary, the Kitante Channel (see Figure 2 Photomap of the Nakivubo and Kitante Channels. *Source*: Namuwongo, Kisenyi, Bugolobi, and Bat Valley photos taken by author; Kiseka Market, Owino Market, and Mukwano photos from Wandera (2013); Uganda Golf Club photo taken by Elizabeth Ritchieon page 5, for the location of the channels within the city). I walked along the channels on a daily basis, choosing different sections on a daily basis. As such, the research was very much a mobile multi-sited ethnography that sought to pursue "links, relationships and connections … in its pursuit of explanations beyond borders" (O'Reilly, 2009: 145-6). The borders, in this context, are conceived of as between, within and outwith Kampala; they are the imagined and lived borders that spatially delineate social group differences.

Thus, the ethnography was a mobilised one, with the researcher following the materials constructing the Nakivubo Channel, as well as the people whose everyday activities are constitutive of the Channel's assemblage. The methodological focus on materiality and mobility was a visual and embodied assessment of the Channel's environment (Büscher, 2006: 297). I adopted what Sheller and Urry (2006: 218) call "copresent immersion", whereby the researcher "can be copresent within modes of movement and then employ a range of observation, interviewing, and recording techniques". Walking and observing, as method, enable an understanding of the lived environment (Lefebvre, 1991b), and allows a sensitivity to bodily, material, and sensorial everyday realities (Ingold & Vergunst, 2008; Lee & Ingold, 2006; Pink, 2009).

Further, the practice(s) of walking and of observing people walking through the city enables an exploration of unplanned and unobserved urban spaces. This simultaneously subverts the "clear text of the planned and readable city" (Certeau, 1984: 93), and is a way of "knowing the slipperiness of 'units that are not' as they move in and beyond old categories" (Law & Urry, 2003: 11). As such, it is a method that speaks to an understanding of the multiplicity of how space is produced; it enables an understanding of how the city is appropriated, read, and lived in by different city-dwellers, and not simply as understood or imagined by actors who seek to impose ideas and

visions of urbanity. It is, then, a method that elucidates "how participants use and understand different spaces" (Jones, Bunce, Evans, Gibbs, & Hein, 2008: 8), and that seeks to question space and power by looking at imaginations, access, and control over space and movement through it (Sheller & Urry, 2006; Skeggs, 2004).

The act of walking as ethnography was useful in and of itself, for it allowed me to understand the defecatory assemblage from a very personal viewpoint. This subjective experience enabled me to know places more thoroughly, and was beneficial when discussing locations and themes with research participants. Walking with research participants enabled a fluidity in movement and discussion, prompting the emergence of topics that would not, perhaps, be as forthcoming in the traditional sedentary interview setting (Moles, 2008).

Walking and encountering the city, alone and with research participants, had an additional impetus in that the affective and multisensory aspects of encountering the city could be discussed and experienced in "real time" (Pink, Hubbard, O'Neill, & Radley, 2010). This was particularly pertinent given the nature of the research topic, and allowed for the shitscape to be experienced and described in a manner that does not privilege textual representations of space. Thus, toileting experiences were made emotive through participants' reactions and discussions. Walking through the city was also an

olfactory practice; it was an aural, as well an oral, method, and at times it was a tactile encounter. The bodily experiences of spatial encounters were, then, used as method, and understood to be constitutive of the lived environment (Lee & Ingold, 2006).

I set out to walk along the Nakivubo Channel, and wrote in my fieldwork notebooks about the routes and experiences encountered on a daily basis. The walks were also a conduit for meeting people, and I would be asked what I was doing by people I encountered. These informal meetings sometimes developed into more formal interviews; I would walk and talk with some participants, and sit down and talk with others. This very much depended on the participants themselves, their willingness to walk with me, and to share their daily rhythms and walkways with me. If participants did not want to engage in a walk and talk method, then we would conduct a more traditional interview in a neutral setting, or in a place that the participant considered safe and comfortable to talk in. I discuss the vagaries of in-depth interviewing below.

### 3.5.4 Interviews

As discussed above, in-depth interviews were used in addition to participant observations to provide intensive and nuanced analysis. Interviews were particularly useful to elucidate individual's use and understandings of different Kampalan spaces, and how this differs over time. I enquired about what people think of sanitation in general,

and in particular locales, what they associate with different spaces, and how this differs from day to night, and over longer time periods.

Mason (2002) underscores the multitude of tasks that interviewing consists of:

> "At any one time the researcher needs to listen to what is being said and understand it; assess how it relates to the research questions; be alert to contradictions with what has been said earlier; decide what to follow up on or explore in more detail now and what to return to later; decide how to phrase the next question; pick up on nuances, hesitation, emotion and non-verbal signs; pace the interview; keep an eye-on recording equipment, and deal with any distractions or interruptions that arise" (Mason 2002, quoted in Legard, Keegan, & Ward, 2003: 143-144).

Given the many tasks that need to be thought about during the interview, I conducted a series of pilot interviews during the early stages of research. This enabled me to rehearse questioning techniques and the phraseology of questions, and will help decide whether or not I felt comfortable using a recording device (and if so, what is its range, and how does it work), or taking notes. Pilot interviews assisted in judging the parameters within which the research will be undertaken,

and allowed for a sensitisation to these issues, facilitating my ability to negotiate ethics in the field (Valentine, 2005: 125).

The pilot talks helped to hone my "writing down" technique during interviews. Rubin and Rubin (1995: 156) state that the interviewer "must jot down" notes even if tape recording, and I found myself attempting to balance scribbling words and notes, and paying attention to the participant. For this reason, some researchers advocate tape recording rather than note taking, as they say the latter is distracting (for example, see Legard, Keegan, & Ward, 2003: 167), yet the pilot interviews suggested that some participants would be uncomfortable being recorded. I decided that during fieldwork I would always have a digital recorder to hand, but would only use it if the participant(s) were comfortable with its use.

It almost goes without saying that in order to conduct this type of research, one must gain the trust and consent of the interviewees. In-depth interviews are meant to enable collaborative approaches to social science research, whereby power relations are negotiated between researcher/researched, and in the negotiation of the discussion, the process of consent is itself shaped (Lee, 1993: 105). In the initial meeting with participants I attempted to establish rapport, to not be overbearing or come across as ignorant, or as overly bookish. I was conscious of what I wore, how I acted, and how I talked, for all aspects of self will inevitably be judged. Rubin and Rubin note, "the

researcher's empathy, sensitivity, humour and sincerity are important tools for the research" (Rubin & Rubin, 1995: 12), and this suggests the need for acute awareness of respecting what the interviewee wants. I endeavoured to allow the participants to dictate the pace of the interview, and of the topic, particularly if I sensed that they were feeling uncomfortable. Prior to interviews, I talked through the confidentiality of the interviews, and ensured that participants knew that everything discussed will be in strict confidentiality, that names will be changed, and all notes and/or tape-recordings will be stored kept in safe-keeping. Confidentiality and a "non-condemnatory attitude" are vital to facilitating trust (Lee, 1993: 97).

In my preliminary efforts at interviewing, I was fastidious in ensuring that the location of the interview was convenient for both participant and interviewee, quiet, comfortable, and safe – conditions that Brannen (1992) suggests are imperative for successful qualitative interviewing. I found, however, that during the fieldwork, and despite my best efforts, maintaining these locational qualities was somewhat difficult. I found myself having to rank the potential interview location's qualities, prioritising the safety and confidentiality of the participant, sometimes to the detriment of comfort and convenience. Interviews took place in participants' houses, offices, and coffee shops; in participants' courtyards and washing areas; walking along deserted railway lines; in empty school classrooms; behind, alongside, and

inside latrines; squatting behind the walls of the city abattoir; and inside a ramshackle tannery. Some of these locations provided a sensorial onslaught, and often were unfamiliar terrain for me, but my primary concern was that participants felt comfortable in their surroundings to discuss and engage with personal, and at times emotive, subject matters.

Interviews followed a semi-structured form, in that I had a pre-arranged theme and set of questions to ask, but was not wedded to asking or following these questions and topics. This allowed for a certain degree of flow to the interviews, ensuring the participants had room to voice their ideas and for the interview to follow what the participant thought most pertinent to them. I took heed from Rubin and Rubin (1995) who suggest that "probing" is one of the most useful of the tools that should be employed during qualitative interviews. Probing is one of three types of questioning, consisting of main questions, probes, and follow-ups. Probes allow for the depth of the topic/answer to be explored within the collaborative and open setting, as one picks up on what the interviewee has already elicited. Probing "keeps more than the conversation going, it helps to get the depth and dependability you need…and the freshness of first hand descriptions" (Rubin & Rubin, 1995: 150). Thus, I often went into an interview with a set of opening questions, and used these answers to investigate further. The main questions were always tailored to the person that I

was interviewing. Follow up questions were sometimes asked during a later interview, or as clarification at the end of an interview. This allowed for a great degree of flexibility.

I opened interviews with an overview of the research and a reiteration of the confidentiality of the process. I did not use written agreement forms, as I found during the pilot stages that the use of a document outlining confidentiality and the parameters of the interview was intimidating. I had a series of very negative responses when I presented a document, and this pessimism was continued when discussing the use of a written consent form. These responses prompted me to explore the use of verbal consent during the fieldwork, as I felt that this would yield a more constructive relationship with interviewees from the start.

Interviews started with questions concerning personalised histories of the area, and then branched out to more open questions about the participant's opinions on the area they live in (see Appendix B for examples). Interview questions would not be asked in the same order, but would be about things and themes that I wanted to find out from all participants. Following on from these opening enquiries, the interview would shift course to an exploration and discussion about sanitation and toileting. The discussion would often begin with a general outline of what the participant thought about the area and its sanitary provision, before discussing personal routines, expectations,

and desires. Due to the sensitivity of these conversations, I did not have a set outline of questions, but rather had a topic guide to prompt my line of enquiry and allowing the participant to dictate the both the tempo and the focus of discussion.

All interviews were conducted in English, with some introductions in Lugandan. My previous working experience in Kampala, corroborated by the pilot research, indicated that English was and is widely spoken in the city, and suitable to conduct interviews in. My Lugandan skills are rudimentary, but I found that having a simple conversational grasp was useful in gaining trust (and proved to be entertaining in some scenarios). Lugandan, despite its status as the official language of Uganda, was often the second, third, or sometimes fourth language of the research participants, and was thus an unsatisfactory language in which to conduct interviews. I did not use a translator or assistant during fieldwork; where and when translation was required, participants asked trusted friends or family members to act as temporary interlocutors.

At the end of each interview, I was rigorous in my self-evaluation, noting down how I felt that the interview went, how I could have made it better, and whether or not my mood may have affected the interview (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). Where I knew I was going to meet the participant again, I would evaluate the interview, and discuss it with the interviewee at the next meeting (Brannen, 1992). All

participants were offered a transcript of the interview, but only a few took up the offer.

In addition to interviews, I also used participatory mapping techniques during the fieldwork. These maps and sketches were intended as a prompt to help tease out some of the ideas that residents held about the city they live in. I describe these maps below, but I briefly explain what I mean by elite participants first.

#### 3.5.4.1Elites?

As stated throughout this chapter, the research has endeavoured to address the multiplicities of urban life, and thus to engage and interview participants regardless of status. The research methodology is an attempt to push through bounded time-space conceptions, as well as beyond fixed identities. The idea of categorising a person or a group of people is, then, somewhat of an anathema to the ethical underpinnings of the project; and yet, I have found myself defining some participants as "elite". I have done this for two key reasons. First, as I noted in Footnote 18, I have followed Myers' (2003b) analytical differentiation in describing elites as those that exert a dominating influence upon the ways in which cities are produced and read. Myers places an importance on the historical links between the ways in which colonial authorities and their contemporary urban elites shape post-colonial African cities. And, as Chapters 4 and 5 demonstrate,

Kampala's colonial histories of historical sanitary planning map well onto the contemporary urban imagination of what good and proper toileting should be, and where this can be found within the present day city.

Second, Desmond (2004) states that elites "are those exercising the major share of authority, or control within society, organisations and institutions" (Desmond, 2004: 265). Elites, therefore, are not limited to technocrats; they are also non-professionals whose position in society affords them an ability to influence materiality and spatiality in the city. There was no way of ignoring this facet of power within Kampala. Indeed, it is this elite group of powerful people who dictate and define what the city's sanitary infrastructures and practices should be like. I needed to understand this imaginary, and therefore chose to interview technocrats and non-professional elite inhabitants whose toileting plans, materials, and practices are idealised.

Elites within the parameters of this research, then, refer to those that exercise control and authority within organisations associated with town planning and sanitation development. This includes organisations such as the Kampala City Council, the National Water and Sewerage Corporation, representatives from Ugandan parliamentary ministries, and foreign delegates from international agencies. Elite interviews with people from selected institutions (see remarks about the preliminary fieldwork in Section 3.4) were chosen

because the institution that they represented was involved in urban planning and/or sanitation, and depended upon their institution granting access for me to conduct interview(s). Elites also included inhabitants of the city who live in middle and upper class areas of the city along the Nakivubo, because how they defecate, and the infrastructure that they use to manage their bodily waste, is very different from the urban majority.

Such individuals were subjected to the same protocols that I have mentioned above; they were not treated in any preferential manner, or offered any more/less confidentiality. Questions concerning reliability and validity apply to both "elite" and "normal" interviews (Berry, 2002), and it was imperative that I was not arrogant and assuming in discerning the veracity of any interview. I did not encounter many difficulties with gaining access to Ministry officials, or to those at KCC; often, turning up to the office of someone I would like to interview and making polite enquiries was enough to enable the scheduling of an interview at a later date. Ministers and officials were very amenable to meetings and open to discussion, and the only barriers to this proved to be conflicting and busy timetables, and non-response to emails (hence the "go in-person and enquire" approach). Non-professional elite inhabitants of the city were similarly responsive to interview requests, but as illustrated in the opening of this chapter, did

tend to profess surprise in my interest in *their* toileting habits rather than being limited to "poor" toileting and sanitation.

In terms of the gender dynamics of expert participants, Appendix A details the age and gender of the participants. It shows more male than female participants in development, planning, and engineering positions that I was able to interview.[19] It is worth noting this particular gender disparity in my results. My experience is in direct contradiction to Taylor's (2012) PhD research in Kampala. Taylor (2012: 79) notes that "in development circles women [in Uganda] are probably slightly over-represented", but my encounters with development professionals were that the vast majority were male. This could be a representation of the different development fields that Taylor and myself were researching, with her research primarily consisting of health practitioners in Kampala, and mine with planners, developers, and engineers involved in the city's planning and sanitation development.

Regardless of gender and status, however, most interviewees were keen to discuss sanitation in the city because it is seen as an important issue for Kampala (Onyango-Obbo, 2012). I found that either just talking about, or talking about *and* drawing, particular areas'

[19] Of the 23 participants who described themselves as planners, health workers, and engineers, seven were female and 16 male.

sanitation was helpful for my understanding of the city. I discuss the process of participatory mapping in the following section.

### 3.5.5 Participatory mapping

The aim of the participant mapping was to attempt to have a clearer idea of participants' experiences and imaginations of Kampala and its (un)sanitary space(s). I adapted my mapping exercise from Kesby's participatory mapping approaches (Kesby, 2000a, 2000b). The mapping exercise enables participants to clearly present their own representations of cityspace and, in addition to interviewing and observing participants, produces a representation of how participants themselves decipher space and associated performances of sanitary and toileting competence within the city. The method initiated a lively debate, and allowed quieter individuals to express their ideas (Kesby, 2000a: 425). It also enabled the participants to take an active role in the research, and recognised the significance of their knowledge.

I acknowledge that the process of giving participants a map of Kampala's Nakivubo Channel (however blank that map may be initially, see Figure 4) is in itself a representation of space. Yet, giving participants the ability to sketch out their own understandings of the city yielded some interesting, and unexpected, results about the city and associated toileting practices therein (see Chapter 5, and also Appendix C for examples of participants' maps).

Participants were shown the following map (Figure 4), which is essentially a line drawing of the Nakivubo Channel. They were told what the line represented, and then asked if they could identify places near the channel. They were also asked to describe the places that they could identify.

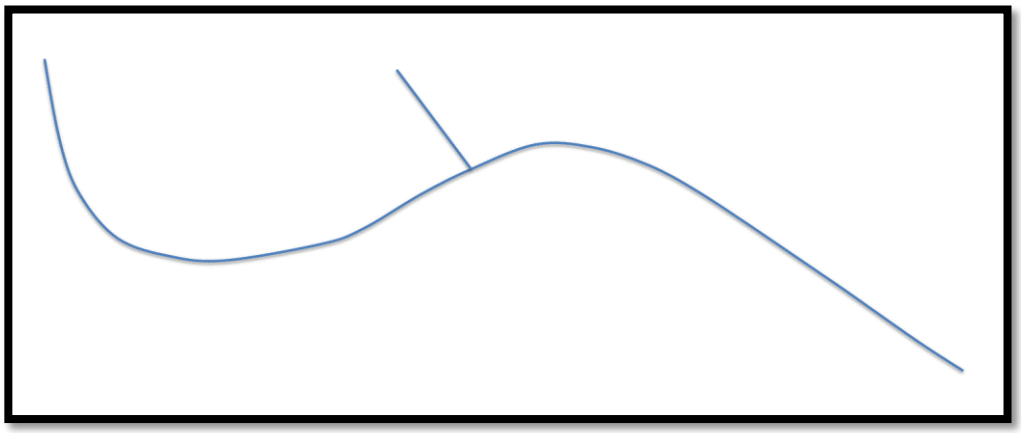

**Figure 4 Line drawing representation of the Nakivubo Channel**

Responses to the map varied enormously. Some participants were reluctant to engage with it as they said they were time-limited and would rather talk than discuss a map. Others did not understand the line drawing of the Nakivubo, and so drew their own sketch map of the city on a blank page (see Appendix C). Some participants did not want to write or draw at all, and opted to describe to me what they thought instead. In an effort to combine these maps and descriptions, and to make some of the scribbles more legible, I collated the themes and comments from all of the maps and interviews. These composite

maps are shown in Chapter 5. The maps helped to explore what the dominant imaginations about the city's shitscape are, and illustrate a remarkable replication of the colonial city. The maps suggest an internalisation of the colonial beliefs about sanitation, infrastructure, and dirt. Yet, these dominant contemporary imaginations are contested by the ethnographic research that was conducted in supposedly disordered and informal toileting slum spaces, as discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

### 3.5.6 Focus groups

I conducted four focus groups, all of which were carried out in the initial stages of the fieldwork and with groups of people that are considered hard to reach. Such groups are generally those that are charged with explaining and justifying their "deficient", "dirty", and "uncivil" toileting practices. The focus group method is a participant oriented, permissive environment for participants to interact and explore particular subject matter(s). As such, the method provided an opportunity for exploring sanitation and perceptions of Kampalan space with participants who were part of "naturally occurring" groups of people that are considered marginalised and vulnerable in the city (see Hopkins, 2006 for his recruitment of people with something particular in common, in his case, recruiting young Muslim men). I conducted focus groups with Karamajong women and men (a focus group with each gender, consisting of six women and four men

respectively), with a group of eight female sex workers, and with a group of twelve women from a "slum collective".[20]

The focus groups proved to be useful in that each collective generated data and insights through interaction (Kitzinger, 1994). They served as a problem definition forum for brainstorming, and for ensuring that the ideas generated during the pilot fieldwork were appropriate and relevant for further research (Pain & Kindon, 2007). The experience of running group discussions was also useful in that it suggested ideas and topics for further exploration during the fieldwork. They also proved to be a valuable grounding for testing out some of my ideas about sanitation, toileting, and urban space. Ultimately, however, the open dynamics of group discussion suggested that one-on-one in-depth interviews, along with walking interviews, would be a better and more suitable way to discuss sanitation, particularly when considering the somewhat intimate and sensitive details of personal toileting.

## 3.6 A reflexive note on toileting performances

During my fieldwork, my own toileting habits and performances invariably changed from my "home" rhythms. In part, this was because I was making a conscious effort whilst in Kampala to visit as many toilets as possible, so I was consequently inside toilet-spaces

[20] The "slum collective" is a term that the group had chosen, aiming to represent themselves as self-employed men and women making arts and crafts for the tourist trade.

more often than if I were not in the field. But although I was frequently visiting toilets, I was less often using them. As Van Der Geest writes about his fieldwork experiences in Kwahu-Tafo in Ghana, I too "failed to practice full participation as far as toilets were concerned" (Van Der Geest, 2002). For him, using the latrines in Kwahu-Tafo was problematic because of a lack of privacy: "to me, privacy was more important than the elimination of dirt from inside the body" (Van Der Geest, 2002: 199). In my case, privacy was also an issue in that some latrines had gaps in the walls and it was possible for me to see outside whilst squatting. I assumed that this meant that people could also see in at me, and as at times I already felt uncomfortable doing my research (particularly in the lead up to the elections, as discussed in the research limitations section on page 116). I felt that being a visible squatting white woman with trousers around her ankles could make me even more of an un/attraction.

My feelings of vulnerability were heightened when I had a bout of sickness that led to diarrhoea. In the midst of fieldwork, I thought I ought to carry on, and not "wimp out" by going back to my house, complete with flush toilet. It was, I suppose, a vain and misplaced sense of toiletry solidarity with some of the research participants and I carried on working through the day in Namuwongo. I was extremely thankful that I could afford the UGSH200 for the public toilets. I made good use of them throughout that one day of having an upset stomach,

something that many participants could not do because they could not afford it, and I was thankful that at no point did I have to queue to use them, as there would have been little hope I would have been able to control the urge to evacuate my bowels.

I also found myself managing my daily food and drink intake. On days that I knew I would be spending extended periods of time in areas without easy access to public toilets, I tended not to eat a big breakfast or lunch because there were so few places that I felt comfortable enough to defecate in. I also did not drink as much because urinating was also problematic, although less than defecating because the time it takes for the act to be completed is much shorter and the required materials (one or two pieces of tissue paper) easier to come by. One of my female participants advised me to wear skirts more often as it is easier for women to squat, and skirts help to conceal intimate bodily parts even when crouching in public. I, however, am much more partial to trousers for daily comfort, and also because in Kampala I frequently used *boda bodas* to get around the city.[21] Many skirted women in Uganda who ride pillion do so side-saddle, but I am not brave enough to do that, so I continued to wear trousers most of the time. I got very good at remembering to roll up my trouser legs when using squat latrines.

[21] *Boda bodas* are motorcycle taxis.

I also found myself embodying the desires that I was questioning in the research process, by seeking out clean looking and clean smelling modern conveniences in Kampala. I would go out of my way to have lunch or a coffee at particular places throughout the city specifically to use their toilets. The use of these toilets was, and is, a privilege and served as a constant daily reminder to me that sanitary infrastructures are a necessity for every body.

## 3.7 Limitations

In this section I consider three particular impediments that occurred during the research. This does not diminish the research findings, but all warrant discussion. Two issues are related to the timing of the fieldwork and the particular political and institutional context within which the research was conducted, and the third is concerning the emotional messiness of the research. The first issue was that the general election was carried out in the midst of the fieldwork.[22] And whilst the research did not engage with this explicitly, many participants wanted to discuss the elections and my opinions about them. One particular area of the city where Dr. Ian Clarke was running for Makindye Division mayor proved difficult. Clarke was the first white person to run for Mayor in post-Independence Uganda, and my whiteness was at times conflated with his politics. I was asked numerous times if I was working for him, and it was sometimes

[22] The election was held on the 18th February 2011, and fieldwork was carried out between August 2010 and June 2011.

assumed that I was conducting research on his behalf. This represented a specific challenge as I sought to (re)negotiate interviews and clarify my non-involvement with the elections. Further, the post-election riots created an unstable environment for research at particular times and locations across the city, and is reflected in some participants' maps (see Figure 11 on page 168 and Appendix C). This necessitated extra care in deciding when and where to conduct fieldwork, for the safety of my research participants and of myself.

The second obstacle in the research was the change of Kampala's city status from being run in a devolved manner to being centrally organised under the mandate of Parliament. Kampala City Council (KCC) was changed to Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA) in March 2011, as a result of the Kampala Capital City Authority Act. A government Minister for Kampala was created, and the Executive Director of KCCA now answers directly to this Minister, as opposed to the City Clerk under KCC. The implications of this change were not apparent at the time, but have become more so only much more recently. This will be discussed in the conclusion to the thesis. When conducting fieldwork, the change from KCC to KCCA did not feature in interviews, and indeed even municipal authority employees were unsure what changes there would be, and the organisation continued to be referred to as KCC for the duration of my research in the field. Given that no significant change was apparent during the fieldwork, I

refer to the institution throughout the thesis as KCC, as I found it at the beginning of the research.

The third limitation of the research is a realisation post-fieldwork, and after the bulk of the thesis had been written, that the emotional geographies of doing fieldwork took their toll on me personally and affected the ways in which I conducted and wrote about the research. Cognisant of the demanding nature of the fieldwork, on reflection I think I unconsciously avoided working with, and writing about, certain "types" of research participants, and found other relationships much easier to sustain and describe.

Early on in the fieldwork, I spent some time over a period of a month with a group of sex workers that I had been introduced to via a friend who worked for a locally based NGO. These women were simultaneously incredibly powerful and vulnerable: the cruelty of their professional lives as sex workers – constantly being harassed by police, hissed and spat at by local residents, and frequently raped by customers and men in positions of authority such as the policemen that threatened to have them arrested if the women talked of their behaviour – was in stark contrast to their desires for "better" lives, and their dreams of bringing up their children in different circumstances. They showed me how important it was to keep their bodies clean, because of health fears and so they could wash the fluids and scents of men they did not want to have any lingering traces of. Yet this was

incredibly difficult to do, not least because their homes and place of work doubled up for many of the women; there was no toilet, latrine, or running water within their shacks; and the nearest water pipe was a five minute walk through the, at times hostile, neighbourhood.

One of the women, Margaret, was pregnant at the time of my meeting with the group. She did not know who the father was, and she did not care. Her pregnancy was obvious physically, and Margaret spoke of not knowing what to do when it came to giving birth. She had given birth to three babies already, all of which she had left in the care of an orphanage because she felt as if she could not keep the children and continue to do her work or find another job. She was 22, younger than me at the time. The other women were caring towards Margaret, but my interpretation of how Margaret's baby was understood was that it was an inconvenience – a disturbance to their only way to survive and earn a living. This had a profound effect on me. I felt myself having to withdraw from the group of women. They were welcoming, and so lovely and open with me, which made it all the worse. I felt privileged that they had allowed me the time and space to speak with them, and explore their daily lives. I felt privileged that I did not have to earn a living in the way they did.

Being in such close proximity to the stories and physicality of abuse was difficult, and highly emotionally taxing. I wanted to not be there every time I was. I felt guilty; I felt like I should not be wasting the

research opportunity; that I should be thankful; that I should be a better, stronger person. The women had little choice but to be there every day and night, so why could I not just be with these women some of the time and listen to their stories?

Every time I left the group of women, I was thankful. I went home exhausted, frequently found solace in drinking beer, and felt very depressed. I cried and I showered and I drank but I didn't write. I didn't want to write about the stories or experiences because it made them real, and it made me have to confront my cowardice and nerves and disgust. So, it was easier to ignore. I returned to the UK and thought hard about my PhD. I realised that sex workers did not have to be part of the research, so I compartmentalised this as an episode of a fact-finding mission that was interesting but not critical to the thesis. This meant that, other than the pilot stages of the research, sex workers did not feature in the rest of the research.

In a similarly emotional vein, meeting and spending time with Winnie and Favour, who I write about at length in Chapter 6, was another extended "moment" of fieldwork that sticks out as important. Winnie, a young woman who was dying of HIV/AIDS, was cared for every day by Favour, her friend. Their friendship and love for each other was incredible. Winnie was so thin; unable to even prop herself up, she lay on a mattress and was fed, washed, and gently nursed by Favour. I have never seen anyone up-close who so embodied the

saying “like skin and bones”. Again, I was overwhelmed by feelings of privilege, of how easy it was for me to walk away from their hardships, to get access to medicines, to be comfortable. But, perhaps shamed by my earlier experiences with the group of sex workers, I tried (successfully) to sustain the relationship with Winnie and Favour throughout the fieldwork.

Returning from Uganda, I felt overwhelmed by the whole experience of research. I was exhausted, physically and mentally. The absolute last thing I wanted to do was go through my notebooks, collate material, and begin to write the thesis. My emotional state was so bad that I didn't even want to open my laptop. But, the requirement to get the thesis written eventually made me slowly, slowly, go through the material and write. It took a long time to do so, and did not happen in an “ordered”, mechanical way of processing the information. I wrote about the stories and people I connected with. I wonder how much more emotionally charged, and sensitive, the thesis could have been to women’s vulnerability had I allowed myself to not be so overwhelmed by embodied feelings and actions of my own privilege. I also wonder how different the thesis could be if I had analysed my notes in a less reflexive, more processual way. In short, my emotional responses to the research participants is the only reason I can give that the thesis presents some stories much more prominently than others. The emotive and affective nature of the research meant that an ordered

approach to fieldwork and writing simply was not possible, but I strongly believe that this approach does not diminish the validity of the thesis or of its conclusions.

## 3.8 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the methodology used in this research. It has discussed why an understanding of spatial production is particularly useful for considering the shitscape, and why postcolonial and feminist critiques are an especially valuable in the context of this research. I decided to utilise a transect method for a cross-section of Kampalan research sites, in combination with a methodological commitment to research everyday bodily fluids and rhythms. I explained my method of historical document analysis, detailed the process of interviewing, as well as the research method of walking and observing. I outlined my approach to participant mapping, and discussed my positionality within the research. The combination of different qualitative techniques enables the triangulation of research data in order to support, and oftentimes to refute, imaginations and interpretations of Kampala's defecatory assemblage.

Lastly, the chapter raised two important issues that could be considered as limitations to the research project. I set out the particular political and institutional contexts within which the fieldwork took place, and argued that these two occurrences did not significantly impede upon this project. And although many other research

approaches and methods could have been employed to study Kampala's sanitation and toileting landscape, the particular combination of research methods I used compliment the methodology and the conceptualisation of the shitscape itself. The subsequent chapters directly engage with the results of the fieldwork, and Chapter 4 excavates Kampala's historical and contemporary sanitary planning.

# 4 Representations of space: planning Kampala's shitscape

*The new [sewerage treatment] works that are coming, it will transform our city. It can make it from being the one people laugh at, the one people say is funny and somehow worse next to Nairobi and Kigali, to being the one people look to to see how things are done. People will want to come here because it is so clean. We won't have this problem of sewage on the streets and bad smells in the air anymore. Businesses will want to make Kampala their home because it will be where things can work. All these things like improving drainage, making less flooding, having much less bad smells around Bugolobi, and taking lots more of the sewage trucks, all these things will improve with the new sewerage plant. Bugolobi [STW] is past. We need to move on and improve." (*Interview with Jonas, 24 March 2011.)

## 4.1 Introduction

Jonas is a Kampalan civil engineer who works for Uganda's water and sanitation parastatal, the National Water and Sewerage Corporation (NWSC). During our discussion, he was keen to discuss the planned development of a new sewage treatment works (STW) in Kampala, a project that he believes will enable Kampala to be thought of in a very different light from how he imagines the city is currently perceived. Jonas expressed a desire that became a familiar refrain from planners and other city visionaries, in which Kampala is recreated not just to create a Kampala not just with functioning infrastructure, but one with

infrastructure that can be a showcase for the region. Its implementation will, Jonas intimates, elevate the city: this is a project that will take Kampala somewhere, that will enable progression, and will facilitate modernity.

This chapter discusses how planning has historically shaped the city, and has influenced spatial inequalities of access to planned sanitary infrastructures. In Chapters 2 and 3 I outlined how geographical imaginations of urbanity become closely aligned with conceptions of dirt, informality, incivility, and abjection. These themes will be explored further in this chapter, and are woven directly into the planned imagination of Kampala. Urban sanitary planning is shown to be a powerful tool of bodily organisation that, by consistently focussing on the same formally planned and elite areas of the city, deepens the distinctions between in/formal, un/connected, and abject/accepted forms of urbanity in Kampala.

Here I outline different phases of sanitary infrastructural planning in Kampala and argue that such periods of material development have not, and do not, lead to linear growth and progression (c.f. Ferguson, 1999); rather, teleological narratives of modernity that drive infrastructural projects have consistently served the city's elite (and connected) inhabitants, ignoring the needs and logics of the urban majority. The spatial pattern of sanitary infrastructural inequality is perpetuated by the city's current phase of planning. I analyse the

Kampala Sanitation Master Plan (KSMP) and find that this follows colonial patterns of planning to perpetuate socio-spatial abjection.

The chapter directly engages with past plans of the city. Post-colonial studies of African cities highlight the importance of an historical perspective to understand contemporary situational complexities (Beeckmans, 2013; Demissie, 2011; Myers, 2003b). For example, Filip De Boeck's work in Kinshasha, in collaboration with the photographer Marie-Françoise Plissart, is a wonderful example of how inhabitants in the present day city remake place from the marginalised and abject spaces that they were intended to live in under colonial rule (De Boeck & Plissart, 2004). This work details the intentions of colonial urban planning, the effects this has on Kinshasa in the twenty first century, and the ways in which the inhabitants of the city's "annexed areas…infuse the city with their own praxis, values, moralities and temporal dynamics" (De Boeck & Plissart, 2004: 34). Historical contextualisation can reveal narratives of linear progression evident in urban planning, and how these operate throughout time and under different manifestations of the state. An historical approach also highlights the consistent role that experts and elites play in maintaining the rationalisation of infrastructural development as a way to achieving urban progression, and as de Boeck and Plissart's work show, highlight ways in which these colonial visions of the city are reinterpreted.

## 4.2 Plans: tangible and imagined

Kampala's sanitation infrastructure does not meet the criteria of a functioning, and hidden, infrastructure that, as I argued in Chapter 2, is a presumed condition of a modern city. Bugolobi, to the east of the city centre, is where the city's only STW is located. The unpleasant smell of faecal matter is often discernable, particularly on hot days. The nearby roads flood when it rains heavily, bringing raw sewage up through the drains and into the open. The Nakivubo Channel passes by the STW, and the wastewater from the plant is expelled into the channel. As will be explained in detail in the following sections, Bugolobi STW is literally overflowing. Its infrastructure is broken, allowing bodily waste to ooze out. This contravention of modern urban efficiency requires intervention and rectification, and the KSMP is considered as the tool from which to begin this process.

Historically, Kampala's elite have consistently tried to conceal the shitscape's infrastructure, and maintain a physical distance from spaces that it cannot, or will not, manage. But growth of the city means that the areas around the Bugolobi STW are now inhabited for residential purposes, as well as for industrial purposes as intended by colonial zoning of the city. These imaginings of the city are intellectually formed *known* spaces conceptualised by urban developers and planners, echoing what Lefebvre refers to as the representations of space by planners and technocrats (Lefebvre, 1991b:

38-46). This is a shared expert and technical knowledge of urbanity, what it should look like, and how it should function. The end-project, the future city, is neatly juxtaposed with the current city: ordered as opposed to disordered, formal and not informal. The following sections take these theorisations of urban planning and contextualise them in conversation with the plans of Kampala. I begin with a (re)turn to the colonial city.

## 4.3 Planning Kampala: pre 1945

Kampala's first period of colonial planning occurred between 1890 and 1914. This was critical in establishing a city recognisable to the settler community, largely consisting of British colonial administrators and those with commercial interests. The smooth running of the colonies was a priority for the colonialists: in order that the extractive potential of the colonies was to be met, both the settler and the indigenous populations needed to be managed. Professionals in the realms of public health, civil engineering, and town planners were instrumental in (re)making colonial cities (King, 1976; Omolo Okalebo, Haas, Werner, & Sengendo, 2010). For Kampala, as the hub of economic activity in colonial Uganda, such professionals played a key role in planning the city and justifying intervention for the promotion of health and productivity.

It was not the health of the indigenous population that the authorities were most concerned about; quite the contrary, they were far more

concerned with the health of the colonisers themselves, and with the public reaction in Europe to stories of high rates of disease and fatality (Lyons, 2002). Curtin (1985: 594) suggests that tropical medicine and urban planning were "crosscurrents of thought," influenced by the belief that the tropical climate and "unhygienic natives" were dangerous for European health. These dangers could be managed through careful living and working arrangements, with plans being formed on the basis of hygiene, and the maintenance of distance from dirty indigenous settlements (Hall, 1998). Planning the material space of important colonial nodes was therefore extremely important, and became the de facto mode through which to facilitate comfortable, hygienic, and healthy living for the Europeans.

Kampala's topography has played an important role in the city's planning in pre-, colonial, and post-colonial times. The area is comprised of numerous hills and low-lying swamps through which rivers and drainage channels weave their way southeast towards Lake Victoria. To the British settlers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Kampala's swamps and proximity to water posed a significant health hazard; the settler community was therefore to be constructed on hilltops not already occupied by natives for health, defence, and observational purposes (Nyakaana, Sengendo, & Lwasa, 2007).

The diagram below (Figure 5) shows Kampala's growth from 1910 to 1968, and includes the thirty hills that make up the city as the late 1960s. The first colonial planned area of Kampala was at Nakasero, approximately three kilometres from Mengo hill, the site of the King of Buganda's *kibuga*. Kampala township, the new planned area, was encouraged by colonial administrators of the time to be planned according to separation from the existing settlement at Mengo. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Captain Lugard issued a plea to the medical profession to encourage segregation on health grounds, and wrote in dramatic language to emphasise the danger posed by the germs present "in the blood of most natives, especially of native children" and in "their dark huts and insanitary surroundings" (Lugard, 1922: 148). His recommendations for racial separation for the new town of Kampala were corroborated by other colonial figureheads working in the region at the time (Baker & Bayliss, 1987).

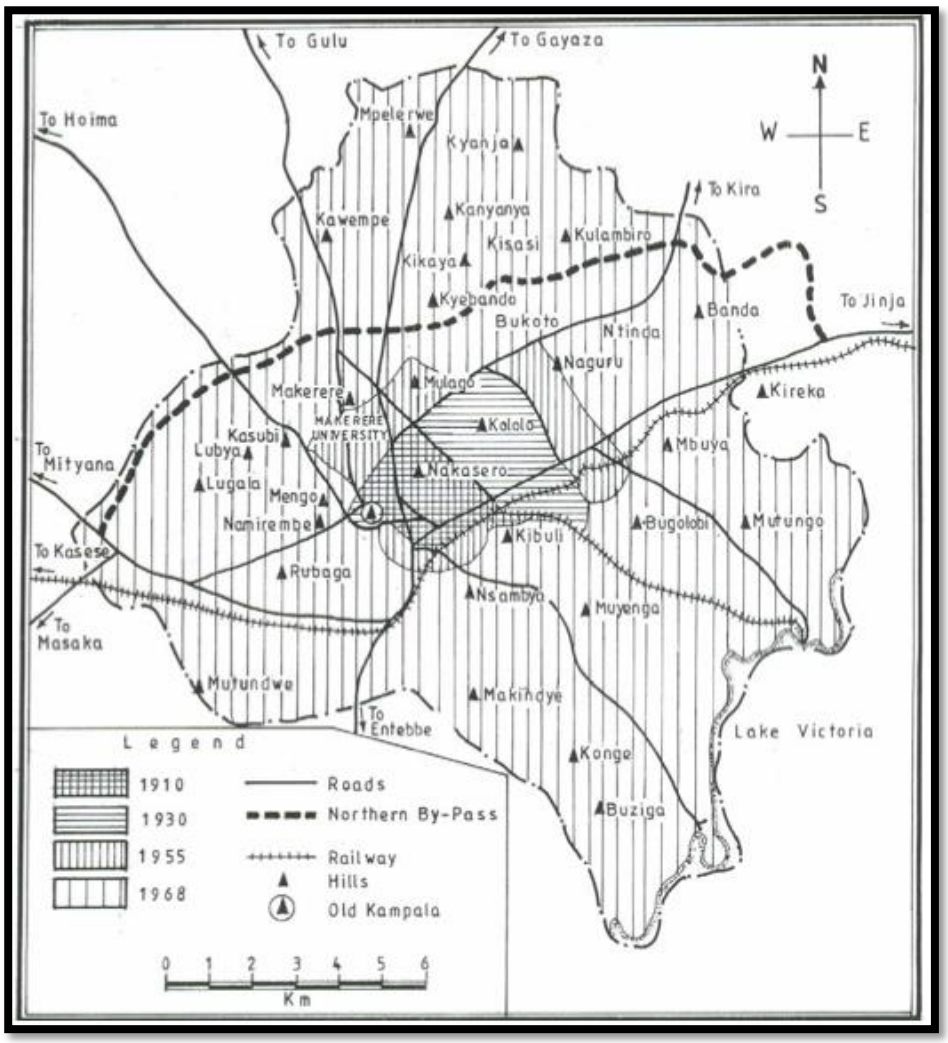


**Figure 5 Kampala growth from 1910 – 1968**

***Source*: Nyakaana, Sengenda, & Lwasa (2007)**

Simpson's (1915) report on sanitation in British East Africa ratified Lugard's deliberations regarding a divided Kampala. The report centred on protecting the colonial settlers from their unhealthy native neighbours, and Simpson was duly invited to join the Town Planning Committee of Kampala with the intention that he would provide expert recommendations for the future development of the city

(Omolo Okalebo, Haas, Werner, & Sengendo, 2010). Simpson's ideas had a profound impact upon the future cityspace, and he instigated the construction of Kampala's water and sanitation infrastructure, the drainage and management of the Nakivubo River (into a man-made channel), as well as the creation of the formally planned Township on Nakasero and Kololo hills. The 1912 Plan, and its successor in 1919 (shown in Figure 6), clearly shows the extent to which Kampala was divided – the *kibuga* at Mengo hill is completely absent, with only the planned colonial settlements at Nakasero and Kololo represented. Omolo Okalebo writes that these colonial plans deliberately excluded Africans from the township because of the imagined threat of dirt and disease that colonised people presented (2011: 65-66).

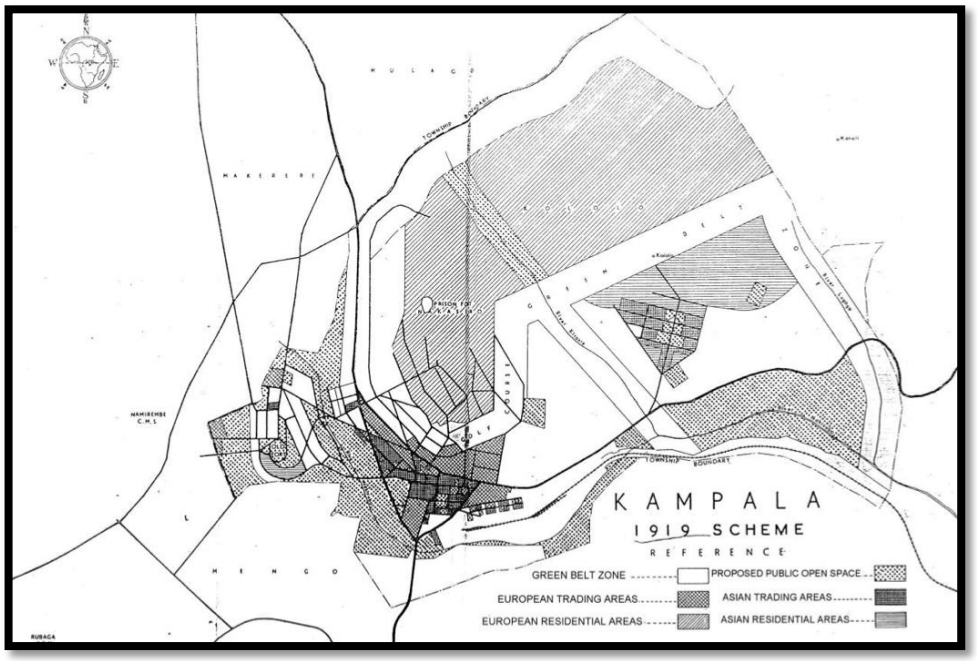


**Figure 6 Kampala 1919 Plan**

***Source*: Kendall (1955)**

Whilst the piped water and sanitation system was built, Kampala Township maintained a rigorous waste-collecting scheme, based on the use of bucket latrines and their emptying by "night soil" gatherers. Kampala's 1,073 latrines employed 121 men as waste collectors in 1921, paid for by "conservancy fees" levied against households and other establishments (Nilsson, 2006: 373). This system was instigated prior to the city's system for the supply of water, a fact that is of note when considering the preferential treatment water gets vis-à-vis bodily waste (Jewitt, 2011). Indeed, so fastidious were the authorities about hygiene that a double-bucket system of toileting was mandated, whereby two buckets were used interchangeably, allowing for the cleaning of whichever was not in use. Piped water was subsequently introduced in the late 1920s and early 1930s, and the basis of the city's contemporary sanitary infrastructure was inaugurated.

Kampala's Plan of 1930 set the course for the city's next two decades of infrastructural development. A.E. Mirams, a man who had worked extensively in India prior to being invited to come to Uganda for town planning purposes, produced the 1930 document. His experience within the empire, as a planner and health advisor, meant he was regarded as *the* expert to employ. Mirams' Plan (1930) set the course for Kampala's next two decades of infrastructural development and, like Simpson's earlier plan, Mirams' advocated the separate location of Africans, Asians, and Europeans. Mirams' plan also excluded the

*kibuga*, resulting in continued racial residential separation, and the de facto relegation of the African community as abject (Demissie, 2011). Mirams recommended that only the colonial areas of Kampala should improve upon its water and sewerage infrastructure, to continue its low-density residential construction to promote health, cleanliness, and modern comfort (Mirams, 1930). Mirams' ideas and plans thus mark a continuation of earlier colonial planning tropes which reflect, and then reproduce, a racialised vision of how health can be secured through adequate planning, and where accepted models of urbanity might be pursued.

This colonial planning, however, ignored the town planning logics that existed at Mengo prior to the arrival of the British. As stated in Chapter 2, the Buganda Kingdom was an extremely organised system that was quite different in its administrative order to any other social system within the Great Lakes region of east Africa (Nziza, Mbaga, & Mukholi, 2011). Pre-colonial Mengo, with its high population and distinct and defined layout centred on the *Kabaka*'s palace, can certainly be thought of as an urbanised area. It did, however, have a number of peculiarities that distinguish it from modern urban areas such as its mobility (being periodically relocated between neighbouring hilltops) and its singular functionality with the town's Royal focus. As Safier and Langlands (1969) and Mukwanya, Sengendo, and Lwasa (2010) point out, however, the specialisation

required for conducting the day-to-day running of the Baganda Kingdom would not have been too dissimilar from the administrative functions of the colonial government, thus rendering defunct any attempts to deny Mengo its urbanity.

The Anglican Missionary and anthropologist John Roscoe was so suitably impressed by the organisation and spatial structure of the Baganda Kingdom that, in 1911, he published detailed plans of the *kibuga*'s layout some fifty years earlier to demonstrate its complexity and order. He described how the Kingdom was divided into *sasa* (districts), with each run by an *owesaza*, or district chief, and how each district was separated by either naturally occurring barriers such as valleys, streams, and swamps, or by man-made constructions akin to gardens (Roscoe, 1911: 233).

The organisation and structure of the Baganda also impressed early British explorers, as it mimicked their own monarchical hierarchy. The colonial administration thus co-opted the society into its system of indirect rule (Chrétien, 2003). Nonetheless, the disorderly and unsanitary image of the native savage became a defining characterisation of colonial Kampala, and was heavily relied upon to justify the city's separation into two entities that divided the apparent civilised European and from its uncivilised native counterparts. By the mid 1950s, the boundary between Mengo and the township at Kampala was branded the "septic fringe" (Safier & Langlands, 1969;

Southall & Gutkind, 1957), but contrary to this pejorative depiction, there are anthropological accounts that indicate the Baganda's fastidiousness and management of human waste.

Roscoe's description of the sanitary arrangements of the Baganda Kingdom is short, and lacks the detail of the rest of his anthropological accounts of daily life in the *kibuga*, but it nonetheless proves useful in that it sketches routines and beliefs about bodily excretions. His opening gambit on the topic is that the toileting provisions were "most sanitan-primitive" (Roscoe, 1911: 243), but he describes toileting facilities that seem anything but primitive:

> "Each chief had a cesspool in his enclosure; these pits were two or three feet in diameter, and six or eight feet deep; they were covered with strong timbers, a mound of earth was raised on them, and a round hole eight inches in diameter was left open in the top. The Baganda were most particular that no one should see them when they went to these places, and no one would tell where a person was when he had gone there. Each cesspool was surrounded by a reed fence, and those of chiefs were also roofed over" (Roscoe, 1911: 243-244).

The sanitary routine for those lower down the social scale did not involve cesspits, however; Roscoe describes how "peasants…simply

turned aside on waste land, or went into the garden, and afterwards covered the place over" (1911: 244). Yet contrary to Roscoe's assertions that this constituted a total absence of sanitary arrangements, it is similar to those toileting practices described by Okley (1983) and Pickering (2010) in reference to practices that do successfully manage bodily waste, but are not in accordance to the dominant rules of civility. Thus, in the context that Roscoe describes open defecation is unproblematic, as the peripatetic nature of the *kibuga* would ensure that any hygiene ramifications of proximity to bodily waste were limited.

Ultimately, colonial foundations in racial superiority of the white European prevented even more observant colonizers from acknowledging sanitation accomplishments of the Baganda. To concede that the Baganda were orderly and sophisticated in their toileting habits or in their urban planning would have required a very different understanding of the project of colonialism and of indigenous people. Maintaining a social division between the colonial settlers and the inhabitants of the *kibuga* required distinctions within the urban morphology, and urban zoning was implemented to stratify the growing Kampala of the colonial era (Mukwaya et al., 2010: 7). The knowledge and the codes of colonial city space were conceived of within the expert colonial imagination, thus rendering obsolete the *kibuga*'s planned space. In this powerful imagination of urbanity,

indigenous expertise did not exist. In the 1919 Plan seen in Figure 6 and in the 1968 diagram of Kampala in Figure 5, the *kibuga* settlement at Mengo is absent, with planned housing and infrastructure reserved for the colonial settlers' area. This division between planned/unplanned and the presence or absence of sanitary infrastructure is an important process that works to form and maintain abjection. The spatial entrenchment of ideas about order, civility, and dirt that persist through post-war planning continue through to the present day.

### 4.4 Planning Kampala: post 1945-1972

The Second World War severely undermined Britain's imperial role, and provided considerable impetus for challenging claims of colonial expertise and superiority (Cooper, 2002; Springhall, 2001). Cooper (2002: 15-16) suggests that the concept of development morphed during this time period from being one used by the colonial administration to justify their intervention in developing "backward countries," to a nationalist project of development determined by, and thus in the interests of, Africans themselves. Included in this alteration of the development definition was the implicit assumption that expert knowledge would be imparted from European to African, and that development interventions would include African space (i.e. the *kibuga* as well as the township). The Colonial Development and Welfare Acts of 1940 and 1945 were intended to go some way to appease the

nationalist independence appeals, and the effects were seen in Kampala's next round of urban planning.

The 1951 Kampala Plan furthered the earlier calls for Africans to have a right to planned areas and sanitary infrastructure. This plan had detailed projections for African housing in Nakawa and Naguru; it also included plans for upgrading Kampala's only major sewage treatment works at Bugolobi, which had been constructed a decade previously. The STW at Bugolobi was the sole collection point for the city's sewerage, and covered approximately two thousand hectares of central Kampala in Nakasero and Kololo (NWSC, 2004: 5-1). This maps neatly onto the planned areas of the colonial township. The sewerage system did not, however, include the *kibuga* or the new African housing developments, and the 1951 Plan maintained this exclusion. It seems that the modernist planning of 1950s Kampala, seen as a civilising agent, did not stretch to sanitation (Gutschow, 2004): perhaps it was assumed that pit latrines were preferred, or that water-borne sewerage was an unnecessary expense, or, quite simply, wholly unnecessary. Whatever the case, it remained that Kampala Township was the only area to be serviced by a networked water borne sewerage system, as is still the case in the contemporary city.

In the years immediately preceding Uganda's Independence in 1962, Kampala was experiencing a transition from being a trading town to becoming Uganda's capital city. Southall (1967) and Gutkind (1963)

detail the effect this had on the population of the city, as people arrived in Kampala in search of waged employment. Many of the new Kampalans set up home in previously uninhabited areas of the city, on *mailo* land belonging to the *Kabaka*.[23] Its low-lying swampy situation meant that these stretches of *mailo* land had hitherto not been settled, and instead formed the cordon sanitaire between coloniser and colonised. These areas were often the first port of call for immigrants to the city, and developed into what Southall calls "dense slum-like areas" characterised by their lack of planning and regulation and an excess of unsanitary conditions (Southall, 1967: 310-314), a characterisation that continues today (Ogwang, 2013; Sanya & Owor, 2010).

The population growth of greater Kampala, coupled with the administrative difficulties caused by having five separate urban authorities, was worrisome for the new central government. It prompted the Ugandan government to invite a team of United Nations urban planners to develop an agenda for the city. A UN planning team arrived in 1963, and appointed themselves the Kampala Mengo Urban Planning Mission (KMUPM); the team of planners, sociologist, finance advisor, and public health specialist ascertained early on that they did not have ample scope or time to produce a city master plan, and

[23] *Mailo* refers to the customary land tenure system of the Baganda. The word derives from the unit of land that *mailo* traditionally refers to - a square mile.

instead created a document of recommendations intended for immediate action (Omolo Okalebo, 2011: 100). Sewerage and the disposal of waste was a key concern, as was the associated health and sanitation of the *kibuga* and the outlying residences in the wetlands, focusing on the slum area of Kisenyi.[24]

A second UN planning team arrived in late 1964, but the plans from the two UN missions were never implemented. Conflicting political interests, a lack of administrative capacity, and a paucity of funds limited the ability of relevant parties to implement town planning in Kampala. A final UN team began surveying in 1967 with a view to gaining enough data to compile a comprehensive Master Plan. Similar issues also curtailed this team, but their statistical information provided the basis for the next period of Kampala's planning, culminating in the 1972 Master Plan. The city, meanwhile, continued to grow, and this population growth was reflected in the decision to expand the city's administrative boundaries seven-fold to encompass many of the former Township and *kibuga*'s adjacent areas (Omolo Okalebo, 2011: 127). Health and sanitation remained a top priority to be addressed by the expanded urban administration (Southall, 1967), yet the distinctions between un/planned infrastructure (and therefore upon everyday toileting practices) remained marked.

[24] In Lugandan, "kisenyi" means swamp.

The political turbulence in Uganda during the 1960s and 1970s had a direct impact upon city planning. An urban Master Plan was published in 1972 (KCC, 1972), which reflected a more comprehensive plan in its scope than its predecessors, in geographical, technical, and developmental strategy areas (Lwasa, 2010). It addressed sanitary infrastructure directly, with a chapter dedicated to "Water Supply and Sewerage" (KCC, 1972). Only two pages long and the most brief of all of the Plan's ten chapters, the drafters of the plan assumed that Greater Kampala was to have its own, separate, Master Plan explicitly addressing water and sanitation, thus leaving the issue very much entrenched in the persistent colonial imagination of appropriate urbanity. As such, the four decades from the 1940s to the 1970s largely continued the colonial distinctions of un/planned space along race and class hierarchies, further embedding the association of unplanned areas with dirt and incivility (Datta, 2012).

## 4.5 Planning Kampala: 1972-present

The 1972 Kampala Development Plan (KCC, 1972: 96) recommended the creation of a "unified Water and Sewerage Board", on the basis of a previous proposal made by the UN Planning Mission in 1964. The Plan states that the city's water supply and sewerage "form a sufficiently specialized and self-contained field of study, so that it would be preferable to initiate a separate study rather than making it part of an overall Structure Plan" (KCC, 1972: 95). The National Water and

Sewerage Corporation was duly established in 1972. This government-owned parastatal was created under Idi Amin's administration and was financially supported by the Israeli government in its nascent years (Oded, 2006). This support enabled the addition of two new wastewater pools at Bugolobi STW, which was the first upgrade to the plant since its construction three decades earlier. The ponds were built but never fully implemented. Connection to the sewerage network remained within the limited space of the original infrastructure coverage that, since Kampala's urban inception, is occupied by the city's elite – high-end hotels, shopping malls, and residential areas, as well as most of the country's foreign embassies, State House, and the Uganda Parliament. The two decades following the 1972 Plan saw Uganda contend with warfare, violence, and political turmoil. It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss this further, but as a consequence, the imagined space of the 1972 Plan had little impact upon the physical urban space of the country's capital city. Indeed, a UN Habitat (2007) report claims that no attempts to engage with the 1972 Plan were ever made.

The next effort to plan the city occurred in the early 1990s, under the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government of President Yoweri Museveni. The 1994 Kampala plan relied upon the NSWC to design and implement the city's sanitary infrastructure, and itself focussed upon the future economic interests of city and country. The

NRM's priority was to concentrate its efforts on rural Uganda and the implementation of economic and administrative reforms that targeted the promotion of agriculture, arguably to the detriment of other (urban) sectors (Bahiigwa, Rigby, & Woodhouse, 2005). The sewerage network did not receive any significant upgrading or extensions, and the NWSC focused its resources on managing the existing infrastructure of the old colonial township at Nakasero and Kololo, the same areas that overlap with the spaces of the urban elite. The city's population, however, has been rapidly rising since the infrastructure was initially constructed (see Figure 7). This combination of population growth and sanitary infrastructural neglect means that bodily waste is a much more apparent component of the contemporary city than it was when the infrastructure to manage it was first built, and has been the impetus behind the construction of the city's new STW at Nakivubo.

| **Year:** | **1969** | **1980** | **1991** | **2002** | **2006** | **2010** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Kampala population:** | 330,700 | 458,503 | 774,241 | 1,208,544 | 1,479,741 | 1,811,794* |
| **Kampala growth rate per annum (%):** | - | 3.2 | 4.76 | 5.61 | 5.6 | 5.6 |
| **% of national total population:** | 3.47 | 3.63 | 4.64 | 4.89 | 5.4 | 5.51 |

**Figure 7 Kampala population and growth rates**

*Source*: **Adapted from Nyakaana, Sengendo, & Lwasa (2007). *Day population is estimated to be double this figure**

The current STW at Bugolobi is operating under duress. Even though it only caters for the bodily waste of less than ten per cent of the city, it is still failing to adequately manage that load, as discussed below.

### 4.5.1 Overflow: waste as contradiction to the modern city

Interviews with staff members at the Bugolobi STW revealed that the plant manages a flow of sewage anywhere between 12,000 cubic meters per day ($m^3/d$) and in excess of 25,000 $m^3/d$, depending on the daily rainfall. This is approximately equivalent to the volume of between five and ten Olympic sized swimming pools. Bugolobi STW can, however, receive sewerage in excess of 40,000 $m^3/d$ on a day of torrential rain, particularly if the rainfall has been heavy and sustained over a period of days, something that happens with some regularity during the rainy season. Bugolobi STW was initially designed to have a daily capacity of 30,000 $m^3/d$ when operating fully, which could handle the waste of approximately one million people. Kampala's daytime population, in contrast, is conservatively estimated in excess of 3 million people (see Figure 7).

This is palpable when walking around the plant. On a dry day in the city, desiccated shit is visible throughout the plant. STW employees described the spilling over of sewage from the inflow channels, so that the stinking fluid slops around on the ground. Employees always wear rubber boots, but on overflow days, even these boots are inadequate for wading. At the main point of entry into the STW system, there is a

grate that catches the biggest pieces of solid waste mixed in with the liquid urine and faeces. The grate is crooked, and requires human intervention to physically pick out the plastic bottles, rags, and other assorted detritus. This is one man's job: to stand with a rake, and assist the grate in filtering out the larger bits of the city's waste that has made it this far in the sewage pipes and drainage channels. Emmanuel says he does not mind his job, but that his family are embarrassed by it and do not like it if he comes home without showering and changing his clothes. Emmanuel also remarks that he is happy to have employment; the matter of his work is not concerning to him, but rather that it gives him a regular wage. Tellingly, however, he also noted his desire for a grate that was not misshapen:

> "This is not how it is meant to be. It is meant to be like this [gesticulates to show straight bars]. Then it would catch so much more. The new plant will have all new equipment, and this will be good. It is not right for the equipment to be so old. This is why we have overflow. Also [it is] why we receive complaints [about the smell]. The new plant will have nothing of these problems. It will be better for Kampala." (Interview with Emmanuel, 29 March 2011.)

Emmanuel's desire for a grate that could catch more detritus has little to do with his dissatisfaction at manhandling waste material; rather, he

associated his views with aspirations of innovative sanitation technologies and infrastructure, something he felt would better suit a capital city. His feelings are shared by Paddy Twesige, the Project Manager of the NWSC. Twesige, in an interview with the Independent magazine, stated his desire for a sewage plant that is technically impressive and befitting for the country's capital city (Stein, 2009).

The overflow of shit described here only accounts for that which comes directly to the plant in the city's sewage pipes and channels. The plant also receives around 20 tanker deliveries per day, each holding 4.5$m^3$ of effluent from the city's septic tanks. This liquid is spewed out directly into the Bugolobi's treatment ponds, which are too few and too laden to hold all the waste that the tankers bring. Two tanker drivers, reluctant to divulge too much, said that they would sometimes deposit their truck's septic load directly into the Nakivubo Channel. For the tanker drivers and operators, the plant's incapacity to receive their sludge would preclude them from further septic tank emptying. One septic tank operator, Ssalongo, told me when he was interviewed that he realises emptying directly into the Nakivubo Channel is illegal, but he needs to do it in order to keep his business going. He said,

> "We lose business if we don't empty the tanks. So we go, but even if we know we can't empty in Bugolobi [STW]. If I don't go to empty some tanks, I will not get money.

> There are many people who go instead of me. We have our customers. [If] I don't go, another truck will go. They will do the same [and empty directly into the Nakivubo Channel]." (Interview with Ssalongo, 5 June 2011.)

Ssalongo intimated that the septic tank operators could avoid fines from the national environmental agency, NEMA, by paying bribes but that this is infrequent, as NEMA does not police environmental infringements well enough. The interview suggests Ssalongo places the need to maintain business and generate profit as his top priority, and that the negative environmental impact of dumping septic sludge into the channel was, in many ways, a necessary evil of sustaining his income.

**Figure 8 Truck emptying septic sludge into a pit at Bugolobi STW**

***Source*: photo taken by author**

The overflow, and the inability of the current STW to manage the city's shit, can create an overwhelming stench in and around Bugolobi. Complaints about the smell of sewage in the city are rife, and prompted a rash of grumbles in the national newspapers during the period of research.[25] These newspaper articles stated that the smell was "incapacitating" and a sign that Kampala was "third world" (Kaka, 2010), that the city is full of "slum filth" choking the city (Abigaba, 2010), and that the city's sewage regularly creates oozing dirty rivers when the pipes burst or the drains overflow (Sanya & Owor, 2010).

The general sentiment is that the city's current sewage system contravenes the rules for a modern and productive city. The ocular and olfactory sensory sewage onslaught is a key violation of the requirements for an economically, environmentally, and physically healthy city – that shit be hidden from sight and smell (Hawkins, 2004; Laporte, 2002). In response to this contravention, the city authorities have embarked on an ambitious project to better manage the city's treatment of bodily waste, the details of which are in the Kampala Sanitation Master Plan (NWSC, 2004). I discuss this in more detail below.

[25] From the 2010 to July 2011 (covering the period of research), thirteen articles appeared in the Uganda daily newspapers that explicitly addressed Kampala's sewage and smell issue.

## 4.6 The KSMP and the problem of inclusivity

The most recent plan for managing and planning Kampala's sanitary waste, the 2004 Kampala Sanitation Master Plan (KSMP), recommends the decommissioning of the Bugolobi STW and the construction of a new STW at Nakivubo (NWSC, 2004b). This sewage plant will be supplemented by the additional construction of faecal sludge ponds in the north of the city. In addition to the construction of the new STW, the KSMP's focus over the next twenty years, from 2013 to 2033, includes the updating of existing sewerage pipelines in the planned colonial areas of the city, and the extension of this network to areas that have previously been absent from formal sanitation planning. The planned extension to the sewerage network is in areas of the city that are largely concerned with commercial activities and middle class residential areas. The KSMP does not make any attempt to plan for the majority of Kampala's inhabitants who rely on informal toileting and sanitation, such as the use of plastic bags to dispose of bodily waste (known as flying toilets) and long drops. The KSMP states that wrangles over land ownership in the city, in particular the difficulty in ascertaining ownership of *mailo* land in informal areas near the city centre, is problematic. The *mailo* land system "impede[s] provision of sanitation facilities" and "encourage[s] unauthorised settlements" (NWSC, 2004a: 7-5), and it is the "single most fundamental development challenge" (NWSC, 2004a: 7-6) that limits the master

plan to developing and implementing sewerage infrastructure in already formalised areas. The explicit intention of the master plan is to focus upon strengthening the city's already existing sanitation system, expand it within current zones of coverage, and slowly branch out to other nearby zones over the next forty years.

There are both financial and environmental imperatives for the KSMP: the former focuses upon Kampala's future as a networked city to foster investment and commercial activities, and the latter upon protection of Lake Victoria from further degradation. These two factors are interlinked, and provide a compelling rationalisation for large-scale infrastructural development that simultaneously masks the question of who is really benefitting from these projects. In fact, the assumptions which underpin the NWSC sanitation planning logic prevent asking questions about uneven benefits, and instead reflect a problematically normalised understanding of good sanitation in a modern city: accepting that any project that seeks to address sanitation is universally beneficial; that formalising city infrastructure is advantageous to attracting capital and thus facilitating the right kind of (formal) urban development; and that promoting environmental sustainability is an incontestable positive (NWSC, 2004a: 7-6).

The conflicts and contestations that surround such large-scale urban infrastructural projects are often veiled or defused by the discursive work that dichotomising urban space does. Thus, the "good city" is

environmentally sustainable, sanitary, healthy, productive, and formal; the "bad city" is, by contrast, unsustainable, unsanitary, unhealthy, unproductive, and characterised by informality (Ellis, 2011; Robinson, 2006; Watson, 2009a). Projects that speak to these positive urban attributes neatly side-step inclusivity, as there is a taken-for-granted assumption that planning actively includes and addresses it. The KSMP details the city's myriad sanitary shortcomings, and discusses Kampala's institutional, technical, financial, and social "problems" throughout the document. Indeed, the word "problem" features on almost every other page of the KSMP.[26] The KSMP notes the high population density in low income areas and states that this "result[s] in inadequate provision of latrines and widespread faecal pollution" (NWSC, 2004a: 3-9). The Plan goes on to state that toilets and shared latrines in "low income informal housing areas are poorly constructed, poorly maintained, full or nearly full and in a dilapidated state" (NWSC, 2004a:4-12). The document records that this lack of maintenance leads to "overused facilities which cannot be emptied in a hygienic manner …[resulting] in over-ground sewage flow and increased contamination of surface waters" (NWSC, 2004a: 4-20). These descriptions of low income areas as spaces of visible overflow of sewage, absence of sanitary hygiene, and as "inadequate" and "poor",

[26] The word "problem" appears 106 times in 249 pages of text.

maintains the distinction of these areas as abject and in stark contrast to formal, serviced, planned, and hygienic urbanity.

Despite making the problems of sanitation explicit, the KSMP makes no attempt to include the city's informal settlements in its proposals for infrastructural development. In the same way that the 1912 and 1919 colonial plans lamented the shortcomings of the *kibuga* and omitted it from the plan, the KSMP speaks of the city's low toilet and sewerage coverage, but does not propose municipal sanitation infrastructure in the informal areas on *mailo* land that, in part, made up the colonial cordon sanitaire. Instead, the KSMP states that "as the pressure for land for commercial uses in central Kampala increases it may become more viable to completely re-develop these areas ... re-development is more likely [than the construction of] communal/low cost sewerage draining to NWSC sewers" (NWSC, 2004a: 13-23). In other words, the problems of these informal and unplanned areas are *too* problematic to make the instigation of connected sanitary infrastructure worthwhile; for the master planners, it makes more sense for Kampala to "clean up" the city by wholly re-developing these areas, a move that Watson argues is inherently "anti-poor" as it justifies forced eviction (Watson 2009: 177-8).

In an interview with Bukanga, a Spokesman for the Ministry of Lands, Housing, and Urban Development, he stated that the KSMP's lack of engagement with informal settlements is unproblematic. Rather,

Bukanga saw the distinctions between in/formal settlements as justification for future demolition of "these slums". He stated:

> "Our purpose is visionary… In our city of Kampala, we are looking to transform the country from a peasant society to a highly developed one. If this means that we have to bundle infrastructure, knowledge, and investment into Kampala and remove some of these slums places, then so be it. Our vision is to have the entire centre of the city in the neat and organised way of Kololo, but better and more modern." (Interview with Bukanga, 8 April 2011).

Bukanga uses Kololo as his referent; the area was planned by the colonial administration and today is one of the most exclusive areas of Kampala. This is his benchmark for what he sees is appropriate for the future of the city. In contrast, inhabitants of informal, unplanned areas of the city are not seen as appropriate for Kampala's "visionary" future; it is the city of the prosperous that provides the model and thus justifies investment. The people who occupy slum areas near the central business district of Kampala must be quite literally cleared from the scene for a developed, orderly cityspace. In other words, it is the city, rather than its inhabitants, which must be developed.

However, the very presence of informal, unplanned areas also provides justification for the possible deleterious effects of the construction of the new STW, and for their displacement. The *Environmental and Social Impact Assessment* of the planned sanitation infrastructure discusses potential wetland degradation as a result of the STW construction. The report states the impact will be "very localised [as the site is] already degraded by encroachment and informal agricultural activity" (AfDB, 2008b: 13). The presence of informal settlements is equated with degradation and squalor, and this in turn provides justification for the area to be cleansed by the presence of formal sanitary infrastructure. The KSMP does not engage with the rationalities of the existing "degradation", and shows no indication of appreciating the everyday "efforts of survival" (Watson, 2009b: 2267) that are brought about by the absence of municipal sanitary infrastructures (Datta, 2012; McFarlane, 2008b).

Given the projection of past colonial logics into contemporary planning, it is not surprising that the KSMP places the blame of inadequate sanitation and unhygienic conditions in informal areas upon the inhabitants themselves. The KSMP states that there is a need in low income areas of Kampala for "social marketing and hygiene promotion…in order to encourage households *to want improved sanitation facilities and to use them correctly* so that the health benefits actually materialise" (NWSC, 2004b: 35, emphasis mine). There is a

conflation here between dirt and unhygienic circumstances with a lack of toilets *and* a lack of toileting knowledge, thereby assuming that low-income informal households do not desire better sanitation facilities or know how to manage their bodily waste in constrained material and economic circumstances. People living in informal settlements are, according to the KSMP, "unwilling" to sanitise and place a "low priority" upon sanitary matters (NWSC, 2004b: 15). The assumption that informal inhabitants, who are living in areas of the city that have long been absent from municipal planning and infrastructures, allows the municipal authorities to waive any responsibility for services. This deepens the city's inequalities and permits informality to be utilised as justification for removal and cleansing of abject bodies and structures (see Yiftachel & Yacobi, 2003 for a discussion of informality as a form of political control).

The distinctions made between un/planned, in/formal, un/sanitary, and un/civil urban space that was ratified by the colonial plans of the early twentieth century are therefore continued in the urban planning of the twenty-first century. Such reductionist tendencies enable elites to determine and prioritise where and how public infrastructures will be implemented (Parnell, Pieterse, & Watson, 2009). The desire to develop and modernise cities can also serve to exclude many urban residents living in the poorest areas, with planning implemented on a limited and ad-hoc basis, often with the intention of "sanitising" the

area (Kamete & Lindell, 2010). Popular accounts of Kampala's informal areas can therefore continue colonial characterisations of the spaces, and the people that inhabit them, as abject spaces that wallow in dirt and filth, and are hotbeds of uncivil, immoral, and irresponsible behaviour (Etukiri, 2013; Lirri, 2010; Ogwang, 2013; Ortega, 2013).

## 4.7 Conclusion

This exploration of Kampala's planning history reveals a long association of spatial difference within the city. The sewerage infrastructure of Kampala is an artefact, materialised on the ground, of the racist beliefs upon which colonialism was premised. This materiality continues to frame the debate about planning priorities, and serves in contemporary Kampala as an important justification for supporting continued unequal sanitary access. These historical patterns of planning go some way to explaining why so few inhabitants are connected to the city's sanitation infrastructure and suggests that this absence of formal infrastructure has been constantly cultivated to perpetuate the production of vulnerability, marginality, and abjectivity. The continual absence of municipal sanitary infrastructure outwith the colonial administrative areas normalises distinctions between planned and unplanned, and exacerbates the relationship between unplanned and incivility.

All this matters because, as Tyler (2013), Datta (2012), and McFarlane (2012) demonstrate in their contemporary analyses of urban

inequalities, power is consolidated on the basis of exclusion and exemption (c.f. Agamben, 1998; Arendt, 1958). The absence of sanitation infrastructures within the city can therefore become one way of managing, or withholding, the rights of informal urban inhabitants (Yiftachel & Yacobi, 2003). The historical roots of social abjection in Kampala thus impact upon present-day manifestations of social inequalities that are routed in dualist categories of social status.

This chapter has sought to show the historical antecedents that produce urban inequality. Kampala's planning archive is shown to have an impact upon contemporary sanitary interpretations of the city. Colonial and post-colonial planning of the city has repeatedly focused on the same areas of the city, deepening the distinctions between un/connected, in/formal, abject/accepted forms of urbanity. The perpetual desire of the urban elite to maintain cleanliness and improve infrastructural connectedness creates what Gandy calls "premium spaces" within the post-colonial city, which exacerbates the abjectification of the urban poor "just as nineteenth century engineers increasingly ignored the 'inferior' communities living beyond the European enclaves" (Gandy, 2008: 126). The most recent round of sanitation planning, showcased in the KSMP, suggests that the city's history of ineffective urban planning for all but the elite looks to be sustained, facilitated by its historical patterns of spatial inequality and a reinscription of informality that is reliant upon exclusion. The

following chapters examine how both expert and non-expert research participants inscribe imaginations of urbanity upon the contemporary city. Chapter 5 shows how these imaginations of modern urban sanitation and planning are so powerful that they are internalised by Kampalan inhabitants, and reflect the colonial logics of urban order. Chapter 6 describes ways in which these dominant imaginations are resisted and reconceptualised, and in many ways defy what technocratic plans and participatory mapping make visible.

# 5 Kampala's idealised shitscape

*Look, this place is just not acceptable. The ones who stay there are the ones that don't know about life in the city. They need to be sensitised, so much sensitised. Because they don't wash their hands, they all sleep in one room, they don't know how to use the latrines, they are always drinking that malwa [fermented millet and bananas]. You will see, even now [at lunch time] they will all be drunk. This slum… eh! It is bad. These ones, they never learn, they don't listen to the sensitisation messages that we have to help them. It is a filthy place, so full of mud and what…full with everything. Ergh! Even with our sensitisation and the planning, even we [KCC] have built some toilets there, but still it doesn't change. I think the only solution is to move them out, even make them go back [to the north of Uganda]. Then maybe this place will be able to be OK.* (Interview with Jenny, 15 February 2011.)

## 5.1 Introduction

In the quote above, Jenny, a community health worker from KCC, is talking about the Karamojong community that reside in Kisenyi, in what used to be part of the colonial *kibuga*. Kisenyi is a slum settlement in Old Kampala that lies astride the Nakivubo Channel in the centre of town. Jenny is a leading professional of the municipal authority's city health strategy. She has worked extensively with the Karamojong community of Kisenyi, and in other informal settlements in the city. In her opinion, Kisenyi is "one of the worst slums" in Kampala. She is adamant that the Kisenyi Karamojong cannot be "sensitised" to what

she imagines as an adequate level urban competence, and her solution is remove them from Kampala altogether.

Jenny's expressions about the Karamojong's undesirability and her disgust about Kisenyi is reiterated by her colleagues, as indicated by the section on Kisenyi below (on page 194), and the descriptions of Kisenyi that are detailed in the composite maps (Figures Figure 11 to Figure 15). Jenny, and other representatives of KCC that participated in this research, are the technocratic experts who are charged with managing the city on behalf of the municipal authorities. Their positionality as self-identified professionals in the fields of health and social work, town planning, development, and sanitation engineering demonstrates their apparent expertise, experience, and knowledge of cities and urban functionality. Technocratic expertise and discourses are not only embedded in institutional practices but also need to be understood as having an impact upon "the way we understand and organise the world" (Fischer, 2000: 2-3). Jenny and her fellow experts' opinions about places, people, and performances inform development initiatives as well as future plans of the city. But their beliefs and conceptualisations about urbanity, and about Kampalan urbanity in particular, also influences non-expert understandings of the city and its sanitation infrastructures.

Fischer states that "the process of knowing cannot be understood as the exclusive domain of the expert" (Fischer, 2000: 74), and argues that

knowledge is a constant negotiation between that of "experts" and lay people. My research in Kampala suggests, however, that knowledge about the city's sanitary practices, materials, and spaces cannot be simplistically divided between expert and lay. Knowledge of what the idealised shitscape is - how defecatory products are managed and regulated, and how and where defecation is practiced – is revealed in this chapter to be very narrow. There is a concrete conception of what idealised sanitary spaces, materials, and practices are. This idealised imagination is revealed as not limited to experts, or to a particular class of urban inhabitant. Rather, the idealised shitscape is known to wide range of research participants, regardless of expert, class, race, or gendered status. Idealised sanitary practices, such as using a flush toilet, are understood as superlative even by those inhabitants of the city who do not have access to such materials and sanitised spaces. Thus despite the existence of idealised sanitary infrastructures in middle and upper class areas of the city, knowledge about these materials goes beyond these confines. Such imaginings wield immense power in that they have the potential to overwrite, squeeze out, and ignore the diversity of already existing urban functionalities (Simone, 2004). Moreover, as is described in Chapter 6, participants who are limited to using informal toileting materials and spaces experience anxiety about their inability to participate in idealised sanitary practices; they also have a variety of mechanisms that enable them to

manage their defecatory products in such a way that follows the logics of idealised toileting.

This chapter, however, illustrates how deeply ingrained the imagination of what the idealised shitscape is, and the extent to which this matters in defining a modern city. It shows that places such as Kisenyi are derided as dirty slums in need of intervention in order to make them more like the ideal. The long-existing urban functionality in such areas is disregarded or dismissed because it fails to make the city work in a way that is compatible with the apparent coherent flows of a planned, modern cityspace. The chapter directly engages with the opinions and imaginations of idealised sanitary practices, materials, and spaces. I show how the colonial representations of space that were discussed in Chapter 4 influence, and are influenced by, the dominant interpretations of idealised sanitation in the contemporary city. The historical patterns of urban inequalities that are highlighted in the previous chapter are perpetuated because, in part, the knowledges and opinions that urban technical experts hold disproportionally influence urban planning and desirability (Watson, 2009b).

I begin by developing the idea of the idealised shitscape by showing where and how it maps onto the current city in the minds of participants. Participants were asked to describe areas of the city and explain what they thought of those spaces insofar as sanitation was concerned. Participants included inhabitants that lived nearby the

Nakivubo Channel, from a variety of class backgrounds, as well as low-level experts in the management of the city's sanitary infrastructure and practices, including health and development workers, sanitation engineers, and town planners. I show how the idealised shitscape is informed by ideas about modernity, dirt, and order. These dominant ideas about the sanitary infrastructure of the city affect, and are mediated by, the techno-authoritative reasoning of Kampala city's sanitation development initiatives in the informal area of Kisenyi. This reasoning leaves little room for different interpretations of sanitary competence, or for challenging the dominant ideals of what constitutes toileting. It is also one of the primary mechanisms by which the colonial planning logic of Kampala is projected into in imaginings of the post-colonial city. The city's spatial ordering of sanitary competence, which is framed around cleanliness, informs how the city's municipal authorities decide where, and how, they should intervene to develop an area. I begin by discussing the character of the city as revealed through participant responses to a mapping exercise, for which they were asked to label Kampalan places on a map that only had a line drawing of the Nakivubo Channel as a reference point. I then trace their imaginaries across these material spaces in order to illustrate how these ideals then shape interpretations of both human bodily practices, and the need to intervene in places seen as sites of inferior sanitation practices.

## 5.2 Participatory mapping along the Nakivubo Channel

As discussed in Chapter 3, the participant mapping exercise explores the ideas about the idealised shitscape. The maps include the views of participants who are considered sanitary and planning experts, but it also includes the views of ordinary inhabitants of Kampala, whose knowledges of sanitation and toileting are informed by the opinions of the class of people who are tasked with developing formal sanitation infrastructures. This move thus challenges the idea of expert knowledge by involving inhabitants who may be considered peripheral to city-making but are integral to city life, but it also demonstrates how historical and powerful narratives of urbanity are internalised by inhabitants of the city to perpetuate urban inequalities (Bourdieu, 1999; Simone, 2004; Watson, 2009b). Idealised shitscapes can therefore also be interpreted as sanitary materials and practices that are desired.

During focus groups and interviews, I used the line drawing of the Nakivubo Channel as a prompt to get participants to discuss different areas in the city. The photograph below (Figure 9) shows a focus group that was conducted with a group of women in Kisenyi, and Figure 10 shows participant mapping that was carried out with KCC low-level health and sanitation experts. The photos have been cropped for reasons of anonymity, but they give a sense of the context within which some of the participant mapping took place.

**Figure 9 Focus group in Kisenyi**

***Source*: Photo taken by research participant, with author holding the participant's baby**

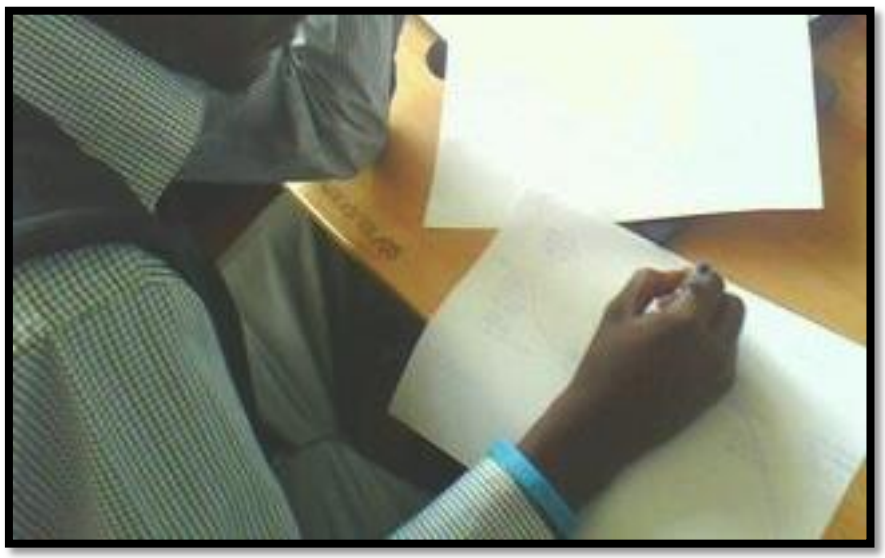

**Figure 10 KCC expert participant mapping**

***Source*: Photo taken by author**

Figure 11 and Figure 12 respectively show the mapping results of these two participant collaborations shown above. As you can see, the maps are not very clear. The maps also have some geographical inaccuracies that were only made apparent when talking to the people who made them. For example, the orientation of the Nakivubo representation on Figure 12 was turned the wrong way, so some of the remarks do not correspond to where they are intended. There is one area of the map on which a list is written, which states "Market area – Dirty, Noisy, Smelly, Congested". On the map, this writing corresponds to Nakasero, but when discussing what the participants had produced, it became clear that these remarks were referring to Owino Market, on the south side of the Nakivubo in Old Kampala, not in Nakasero.

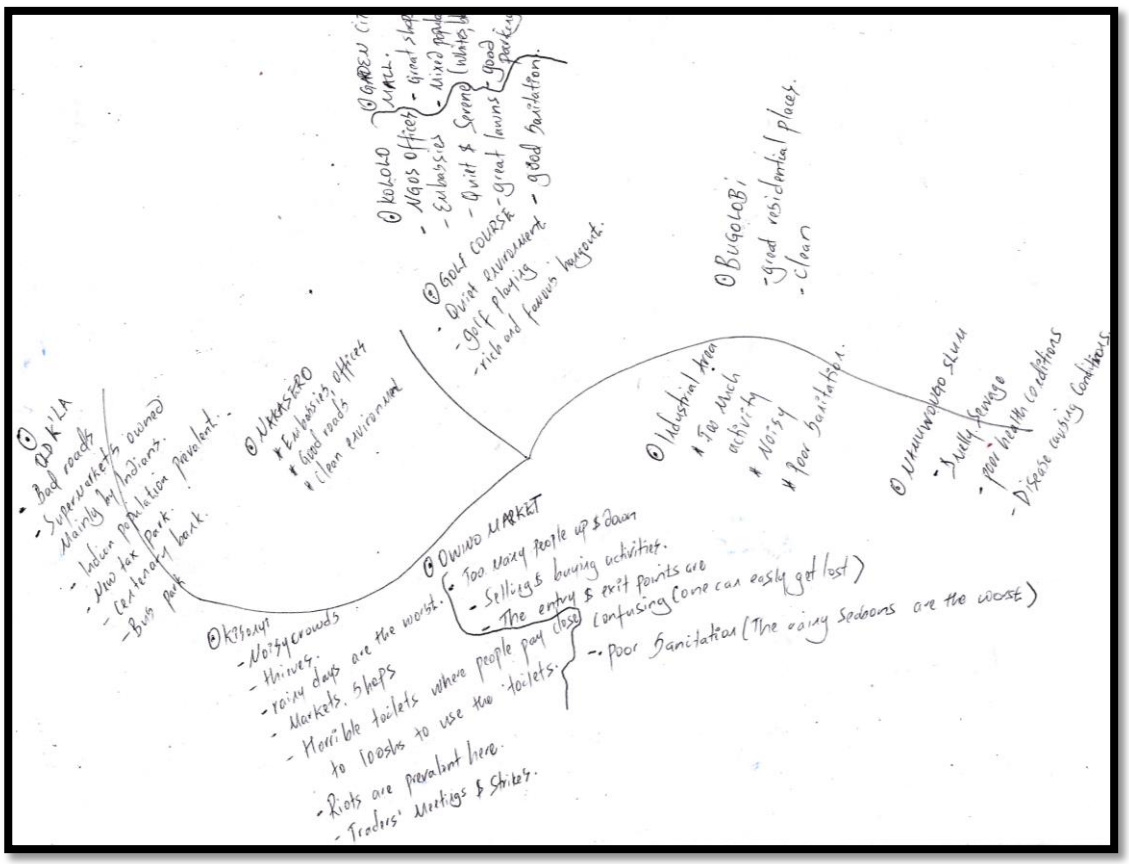


**Figure 11 Participant map made by two KCC WATSAN experts**

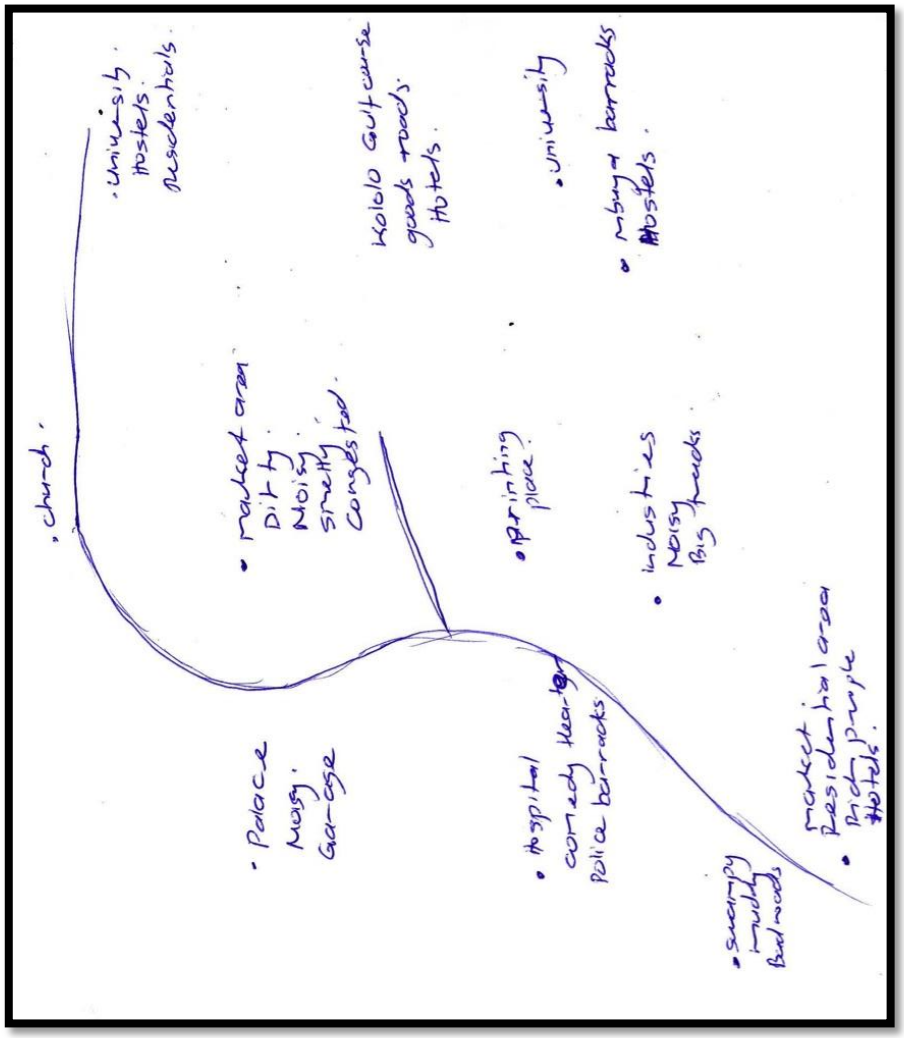


**Figure 12 Participant map created by Kisenyi focus group**

The process of discussing different places and what participants thought about them meant that the annotated maps were not immediately clear to analyse. As a result, I transcribed these maps into digital form and made composite digital maps of what participants had mapped. These composite maps are shown below.

Figure 13 is a representation of the most commonly identified areas in the city. The numbers in brackets refer to the number of participants

who identified that particular area. Most commonly identified is Owino Market (officially called St. Balikkuddembe Market, but no participant called it by that moniker). The Taxi Parks, Garden City mall, and the Industrial Area follow this. Interestingly, the informal settlement of Namuwongo is next most commonly identified, but only when the tally takes into account people identifying the same area as "wetlands", "slum" and "swamp". The other informal settlement along the Nakivubo was more widely known by its name, Kisenyi, with 38 people identifying it as such; I explore this in more detail in the case studies about Namuwongo and Kisenyi below (sections 5.5 and 6.4).

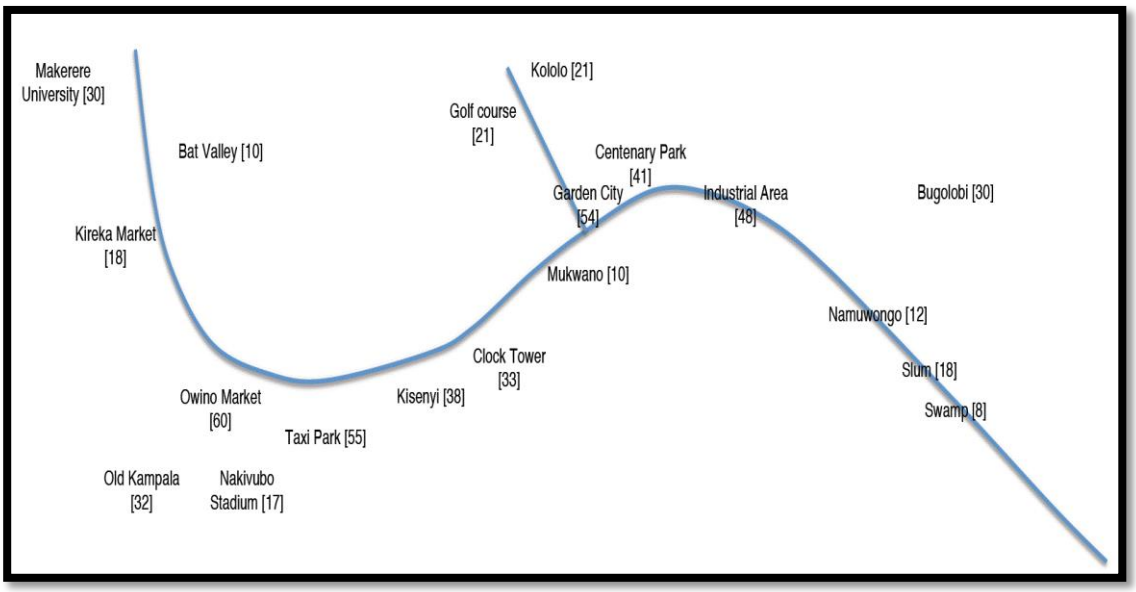


**Figure 13 Representation of the most commonly identified areas in the city**

Figure 14 is a composite map of associations with the places that were most commonly identified by participants. These identifications do not

have numbers of responses attached to them as participants rarely said the exact same things about a place.

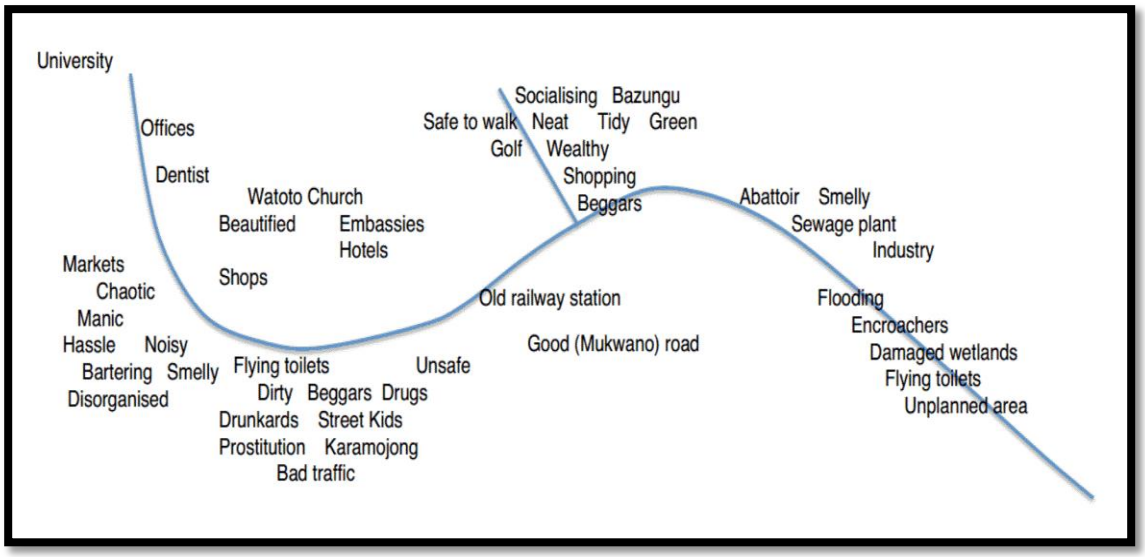


**Figure 14 Composite map of associations made with locations along the Nakivubo Channel**

There are a number of common themes that are identifiable from these maps, as noted on Figure 15. The themes rotate around perceptions of urban competence, modernity, and security; and perhaps contrary to the assumption that such views would come from technical and/or elite group of respondents, this is not the case. The responses of inhabitants from some of the most deprived areas of city corresponded with the opinions and thoughts of the more privileged inhabitants of Kampala. This, as will be explored below, is an effect of spatial appropriation by the dominant urban class in Kampala, whose ability to materially and symbolically influence conceptions and practices of

toileting affect society writ large, and limit alternative notions of competent sanitation and toileting (c.f. Bourdieu, 1999).


**Figure 15 Common representations along the Nakivubo Channel**

The dominant ideas about toileting and urbanity within Kampalan space are represented through these maps. These sketches lend a glimpse into the ways in which privilege maps onto the material spaces of the city. Ideas about toileting and sanitation spatially correspond with remarks made about the "better" areas of the city. It also becomes evident that characterisations of places, people, and toileting practices as "incompetent" and "informal" correspond to remarks about such spaces requiring intervention and development.

These composite maps (Figure 14 and Figure 15) suggest that contemporary Kampala is very much imagined as a dualised city by

the research participants. This is similar to the maps of the city that were made by colonial officials, which detail the areas of the city that were to be planned. Much of the space south of the Nakivubo Channel is characterised as chaotic, dangerous, and impoverished, the same areas of the city that colonial authorities did not plan. Whereas, to the north of the channel, the comments and descriptions made during the participant mapping exercises and in interviews correspond to the areas of Kampala that were planned for, and by, colonial authorities. The participatory maps highlight a contemporary conceptualisation of a bifurcated city in a similar way to the colonial imagination. My research suggests a dominant framing of Kampala in terms of problem areas and unproblematic ones, spaces that are disorganised and ones that are not, areas that are safe and healthy and those that are dangerous and unhealthy.

The framing of the city as un/problematic in the mapping exercises demonstrates how discussing sanitation and toileting contributes to understanding participants' interpretations of the city. It also shows the correspondence between spaces that have planned sanitary infrastructure and spaces that are imagined as orderly and clean. The following section further explores this relationship, and explains how imaginations about idealised toileting and sanitary spaces and practices are materialised in city space.

## 5.3 Deciphering Kampala's sanitary ideal

The concept of the sanitary ideal is a way of exploring what the best sanitary practices and materials are understood to be by the participants in this research. It is an idea that helps to understand the role of defecation within the imagined and experienced landscape of what a modern city is and should be. Two key, interrelated points inform my interpretation of the idealised shitscape. The first is that the spatial practices of any given society, which include toileting methods and materials, are disclosed through the deciphering of that society's space (c.f. Lefebvre, 1991b). The second is that cleanliness and the absence of dirt are understood as key attributes of urban modernity. Thus, to understand what the sanitary ideal is in Kampala, and therefore what idealised practices, infrastructures, and spaces are, is to understand how participants read and interpret the everyday rhythms of defecation and its outcomes upon city life. The participant mapping described above helped to do this, and was a tool to explain how participants understand what constitutes good toileting practice within and across the city. Dirt and order is not evenly distributed, but instead gets transcribed onto urban space. This therefore influences where sanitation development should take place in order to make a place more modern, and conversely which areas of the city are deemed modern enough. As a consequence of these imaginings, certain spaces throughout Kampala are of "high concern and in need of massive

development and upgrading" (interview with Amama, KCC WATSAN advisor, 21 March 2011), whereas other areas "are developed enough and are very organised; these planned areas do not need us. They are not the priority of [KCC health and sanitation development experts]" (interview with Amama, 21 March 2011).

In Chapter 2, an argument was provided that set out the moral order of good toileting and the ways in which this is associated with western modernity. The following section explores these associations within Kampala. The idealised shitscape is evident in the areas of the city that Amama describes as "planned" and "very organised". In the participant mapping exercises, the idealised city is located as existing in and around Kololo, the northern-central area along the Nakivubo Channel that forms part of the colonial planned city. Amama's description of this part of the city was reiterated time and again in interviews, as detailed in the composite maps (Figure 13, Figure 14, and Figure 15) and the interview excerpts below. This part of Kampala is imagined not only as being clean, planned, and organised, but also as wealthy. Participants from across class backgrounds identified this area as having good sanitation and toileting, whether or not they had experienced actually going to the toilet in Kololo. Below are extracts from interviews that illustrate this:

"**Me**: Leons, can you tell me a bit about why you've described this area [around Kololo] as "neat" on your map?

**Leons**: Because all around there, by Garden City and the golf course, it's smart.

**Me**: And do you know it's smart? Do you have much experience there? Like, have you lived in there before?

**Leons**: No! It is not where I stay. I have never stayed there. But it looks smart. I know it is neat and smart.

**Me**: What do you mean by 'smart'? Can you have smart toilets?

**Leons**: You know what smart is! It is nice. Together. Put together. Not broken down. Smart toilets are just… not long drops, not with those smells, but nice flushing toilets." (Interview with Leons, resident of Kisenyi, 19 April 2011.)

Another participant discusses the same question:

**Me**: "So, why do you describe um…around Garden City kind of area as "good"? What does this mean exactly?

**Eddinas**: Good places in Kampala are not clogged with potholes or bad floods when the rains are here. There, if

there is a pothole, it gets made fixed so quickly! KCC go that day if there is a problem! It's because of all the big people that live there.

**Me**: That's interesting. So you think that because big people live [in Kololo and Nakasero] then KCC act more quickly when something goes wrong?

**Eddinas**: It's true! See around Kisenyi it's like the ghetto and KCC don't care because we don't have money to pay them.

**Me**: And do you think that has an effect upon the sanitation in these two areas? Do you know about any differences there?

**Eddinas**: I don't know about toilets in Kololo but I know that when the KCC publics [toilets] are blocked here, they are so bad, and still KCC don't come and clean them. They *wooooof*! [She gesticulates to indicate smell.]" (Interview with Eddinas, resident of Kisenyi, 3 May 2011.)

Brenda, a university student who lives in a hostel alongside the Nakivubo, describes the differences in her descriptions of Kololo and Old Kampala:

> "Up around there [Kololo] it's clean. There is little dust, little smell, and not so crowding. It's where we go if me and my friends want somewhere really great to go out. We will save up all month to go to a bar there. I'd never do that with somewhere in Kisenyi. I might go to Owino to find some cheap clothes, but really, I avoid that side. …And as for what you're interested in, the toilets, never! I'd never use the ones at Owino. If there even are any. I don't even know. If I was there, and I really had to go [to the toilet], I'd leave and take a boda [motorcycle taxi] and go to coffee shop or something. But if I'm out in Kololo, all the bars there have proper toilets. It's not the sort of place where you worry about having to go to the toilet." (Interview with Brenda, 7 June 2011.)

Brenda's comments illustrate how her attitudes towards these two areas of the city influence her decision-making about using the defecatory infrastructures that are there. When she is in Old Kampala, shopping at the market, she would rather take a short taxi ride to go somewhere she thought could offer a more ideal, and sanitary, toileting experience than the conveniences she imagines exist near Owino market. Brenda does not know if there are any toilets at the market, but thinks she knows what they are like "if there even are any". Instead, she would opt to discipline her bodily urges so she can

defecate in a space that has what she deems as the appropriate sanitary materials, in a similar way to my disclosures in the reflexive comments on toileting on page 113 .

The power of imagined (un)sanitary space is again made evident in an interview with a resident of Kololo, Robbie, who works for a bank in central Kampala. Robbie expresses his belief that people living in "the Kisenyi slum will just go and do their business on the ground. They have no shame. They don't even dig a hole, I'm sure" (interview with Robbie, 15 May 2011). Robbie has no experience of living in Kisenyi or of going to the toilet there, just as Eddinas and Leons have no direct experience of going toileting in Kololo. Yet they all have very clear and strongly held beliefs about what they imagine these areas, and the associated sanitation, to be like.

These viewpoints of un/sanitary Kampalan spaces were not restricted to non-expert participants. Those that are tasked with developing health and sanitation in Kampala expressed very similar sentiments about the distinctions between good, planned areas and those areas that are bad and unsanitary. Kampala's sanitary ideal was equated as being planned by Naomi, a health worker with KCC. She stated:

> "Kampala needs to be planned. More of Kampala should be like the planned streets on this side of town [around Nakasero and Kololo]. Otherwise there is this building on

> top of this one and tight next to that one like now in Kisenyi. It is not planned and it is a mess. A mucky and muddy mess. The landlords that build cheap [housing] don't care for sanitation or health so don't build in any flush toilets. Or even long drops. We [KCC] are blamed. The only thing to do now is to plan and implement planning. Make the residential structures properly. Include proper sewerage. To have toilets that are connected to sewers and planned so that there is no more flooding with human waste in it. Because it goes into these slum houses! Because this is what happens when there is no planning. When children are left to wander around and squat and do their su-su [urinating and defecating]. Me doing my job, sensitising slum people about health and sanitation and WASH, it isn't enough." (Interview with Naomi, KCC health worker, 9 February 2011.)

Bad and inferior sanitary space is seen here as unplanned and unconnected. The idealised version is the exact opposite – planned and connected – and this helps to explain Naomi's insistence that dirty spaces can be rectified through implementing development initiatives. These three participants, who all live and work in Kampala, nonetheless have very different socio-economic backgrounds. Yet

when it came to explaining what they think of as good cityspace and ideal sanitary materials their responses were remarkably similar.

The composite imaginings of Kampala (see Figure 13, Figure 14, and Figure 15) show a close association with the colonial maps of Kampala that were shown in Chapter 4. The contemporary correlation of unplanned space with dirt and disorder crosses socio-economic divides. This means that imaginations of less good, and abject spaces, are internalised by the participants who are from these areas. We explore more of this relationship in Chapter 6. First, however, I explore more of the idealised sanitary materials and spaces. As suggested by the excerpts above, idealised spaces are planned spaces, and as such they successfully manage bodily waste in such a way that means there is little to no human interaction with faecal matter, and minimal human contact during the disposal of defecatory products. As the participant mapping shows, idealised spaces are sanitary, clean, and ordered; they are safe and free from overflow of bodily waste. These spaces conceal bodily waste and its odour, and expedite its removal. This is the space of flush toilets, but it also imagined as something more than simply good toileting. It is the space of civility, of civilised practices and people. And it maps directly onto the spaces of the city that were envisioned by the colonial authorities as white and elite. The remainder of this chapter clarifies ideas of best toileting practice by illustrating how these ideals shape desirable and pathological areas of

the city. I begin at the areas imagined to correspond with the idealised versions of sanitation infrastructure, and then examine the interactions of low-level experts with the spaces of the city that are considered by them to be substandard, dirty, and thus dangerous and beyond help.

### 5.3.1 Uganda Golf Club and the elite flush toilet

The Uganda Golf Club (UGC) is situated amidst the Kitante Channel, the main tributary of the Nakivubo. The golf club takes advantage of the channel by incorporating it into the design of the golf course, effectively making the channel an obstacle for the players to navigate throughout the course. Kaweesi, a representative of the UGC, described the origins of the golf club:

> "[The UGC] comes from the early days of planning [Kampala] during the days of the colonial occupancy, this area was identified as a green space and if you are developing a city then it is healthy to have open space. So they combined this with the game, because of course they needed some place to come and relax and play golf. Some of the members then just came here to relax and not play golf, maybe just to take in the atmosphere and enjoy a cold drink. It was designed to be a relaxing place in the city, and we still keep it as that. It hasn't changed. The only thing that has changed is that we extended the car

> park in 2005." (Interview with Kaweesi, UGC Secretary, 23 May 2011.)

Interviews with members of the UGC echo Kaweesi's sentiments. Kevin has been a patron of UGC since 2009, when he moved to Kampala as part of a Chinese construction consortium that is involved with building hotels, roads, and offices in Uganda. When asked why he joined the UGC, he remarked:

> "The golf club is useful. I like golf and it is near work. I can come by and hit a few balls, relax after a tough day. It is not a noisy place, and this is surprising when you consider we are in the middle of the city. I like that. I also joined because I thought it would be a good way to meet people when I moved here, and also a useful place for bringing clients." (Interview with Kevin, 9 June 2011.)

UGC serves a purpose for Kevin. It is a place for unwinding, but it is also a place for social networking. It is somewhere to bring clients and to socialise with fellow Kampalans, the implication being that the type of people who come to UGC will be the right type of people for him.

James, a British man living and working in Kampala, goes further. For him, UGC offers a vital way in to Ugandan elite society. He says:

> "Meeting ex-pats is easy. There are not that many of us, and we all hang out at the same places. Especially if you

> have children, then the wives all meet up, and you get to know each other pretty quickly. But meeting the right [Ugandan] power-players, that has been a bit harder for me. [UGC] has been invaluable from that perspective. Being a member here lets me meet all sorts over a beer or a round [of golf] who otherwise I would be struggling to get to know. It can be farcical to get hold of important people in this country. It can be an endless round of… annoyance. This way, you meet, you chat, you do business. Much easier." (Interview with James, 19 May 2011.)

In order to attract this sort of clientele, the UGC has to uphold a particular vision of what UGC thinks its clients expect. The golf course must be maintained to a high level, and has over 200 caddies on their books to ensure that patrons do not have to carry their own bags. The club purposefully sought to hire Sonny as chief green keeper from a highly regarded Kenyan golf course because of his excellent reputation for managing the greens and his staff (interview with Kaweesi, UGC Secretary, 23 May 2011). In addition to the state of the course itself, the clubhouse must also be maintained. The building itself is not exceptionally fancy, but according to Kaweesi, the aesthetics of the building are not their top priority:

> "Running a golf club is expensive, and we have to look after our priority and that is to be a golf club and have the best course in Uganda. The course must take priority over the insides and outsides of the building. We make sure that the clubhouse is in good condition, but it doesn't need to be built of shiny glass to do that." (Interview with Kaweesi, 23 May 2011.)

Thus the clubhouse remains in its original 1950s form, save for the occasional repaint. The staff, according to the UGC Secretary, work hard to ensure that the clubhouse is clean, that the changing rooms and toilet areas are well maintained, and that the (multiple) bar areas are well stocked. The participants that were interviewed who were also members of the golf club certainly corroborate this.

Indeed, the UGC and its surroundings are widely associated with Kampala's wealthy, elite inhabitants. The interviews and mapping processes reveal that embassies, ex-pats, greenery, neatness, safety, expensive bars and restaurants, large residential properties, diplomatic number plates, and high-end shopping malls were the associated images and symbols of the area along the Kitante Channel. This space is passively and actively experienced as ordered, sanitary, and privileged. The perception of this area as representing idealised sanitary space within Kampala marks this space along the Nakivubo Channel's Kitante tributary as exclusive and desirable. To investigate

this further, and more directly in terms of the toileting materials of this idealised sanitary space, I asked participants what they thought were the best toilets in Kampala. I discuss this in the section below.

### 5.3.2 Kampala's best toilets?

Twelve respondents in the research suggested that the Café Javas near the Golf Club had the cleanest and nicest toilets in Kampala. Participants said that this was because these toilets were spacious, did not smell or look dirty, had soap and sinks to wash hands with, and had water hoses next to the (flush) toilet bowl so that customers who wanted to wash their bodies with water after urinating and defecating could do so.

It is significant that both female and male respondents named Café Javas as their favourite public toileting place in the city (see Figure 16). As well as the reasons mentioned above, female participants praised the café's toilets for having sanitary disposal bins, which are infrequent in other public toilets in the city. The toilets also have mirrors in both male and female toilets, which participants said was a rarity, even in the shopping mall toilets of Garden City mall. There are three stalls in the women's partition, which means that unlike the café's counterpart near Garden City, queuing for the toilet is limited.

**Figure 16 Photographs of the toilets in Cafe Javas, Kololo**

***Source*: Photos taken by author**

Sit down toileting was considered to be the best method of toileting by twenty-nine out of the forty-eight participants that were asked. In the four focus groups that I conducted, the consensus was also that flush toileting is the best, because it is viewed as being the healthiest and most desirable toileting method. The focus groups and interviews suggested that the toileting ideal (i.e. safest) is something that enables the toilet-goer to limit the extent to which faeces and/or urine stays in contact with the body. Any methods that were thought to mean getting faeces or urine on ones hands when removing it was thought to be unsafe and dirty. Further, the best toileting methods were those that limit the smell of urine and faeces as soon as it is expelled from the body. Latrines were not thought of so highly in comparison to

flush toilets for this reason, as they were associated with bad odour. Indeed, the latrine is a "drop and store" type of sanitation, whereas the flush toilet is a "flush and discharge" type (Lawrence & Rozmus, 2001), thus limiting smell. The flush toilet is therefore accepted as the ideal, and safest, way to go. The necessary hardware of this type of toileting (the toilet bowl, the water connection, the pipes to remove the waste water) means that the flush toilet is also one of the most expensive methods of toileting. It becomes the ultimate symbol of the elite, a must-have for inclusion into the upper echelons of the modern, urban hierarchy.

The flush toilet is also aspirational, as indicated by the focus groups and interviews with participants from low-income areas of the city who did not have access to them. This aspiration is itself a symbolic manifestation of the internalisation of inferiority. Within Kampala, as the maps show (Figure 13, Figure 14, and Figure 15), certain spaces that are imagined as good and healthy and safe are also the spaces where flush toileting is the majority method. Spaces that are derided as disorganised, dirty, and unplanned are those where flush toileting is absent.

The strong preference for the flush toilet amongst interviewees is particularly interesting given that the technology is also subject to criticism. The UNDP (2008), SIDA (2008), and Satterthwaite (1998) argue that the flush toilet is unsustainable because it requires the use

of a lot of water.[27] Flush toilets dismiss waste material absolutely, and this limits the possibility of thinking about waste as useful (SIDA, 1998). These critics suggest that different toileting systems, particularly non-water based ones, should be advocated in areas where water is in short supply, and where finances are not able to accommodate the cost of expensive flush systems. Whilst I do not intend to question the worthiness of such alternative systems, my research suggests that toileting proposals such as ecological sanitation (or "eco-san") are seen as sanitary toileting alternatives for poor people only, rather than as alternative systems per se (see page 256 for further discussion about eco-san toileting).

The following section considers Kampala as a divided city, as represented in the composite participant maps. The focus shifts from being upon the idealised planned and sanitary cityspace to considering spaces that participants described as unsanitary in materiality and practice.

## 5.4 Comparing the divided city

The dominant perception of the idealised shitscape in Kampala is that it exists in a very particular area of the city, which with the residential, work, and leisure practices of the most elite inhabitants of Kampala. This group are allowed access to the golf course and its neighbouring

[27] A flush toilet user will typically flush five litres of faeces and 15,000 litres of water annually; their usage typically accounts for a third of household water use in the UK (Jewitt, 2011).

amenities, but more relevant for this study is that the dominant imagination of the space excludes the majority of Kampala's inhabitants from living and working here, with the exception of when lower class inhabitants are employed to do manual work. In terms of toileting, this is sit-down toilet space; it is the space of a connected and networked sewerage system that fully supports and manages the modern aesthetic of flush toileting. No other toileting practice is imagined as existing here. Moreover, in the plans of the existing city's sewerage infrastructure, Kololo, the area around the golf course, is well documented, whereas some informal settlements such as Namuwongo are written out of the KSMP maps. The map below (Figure 17) is taken from the KSMP, and I have annotated it to include the approximate locations of the UGC and two informal areas, Kisenyi and Namuwongo, that I discuss in more detail below and in Chapter 6.

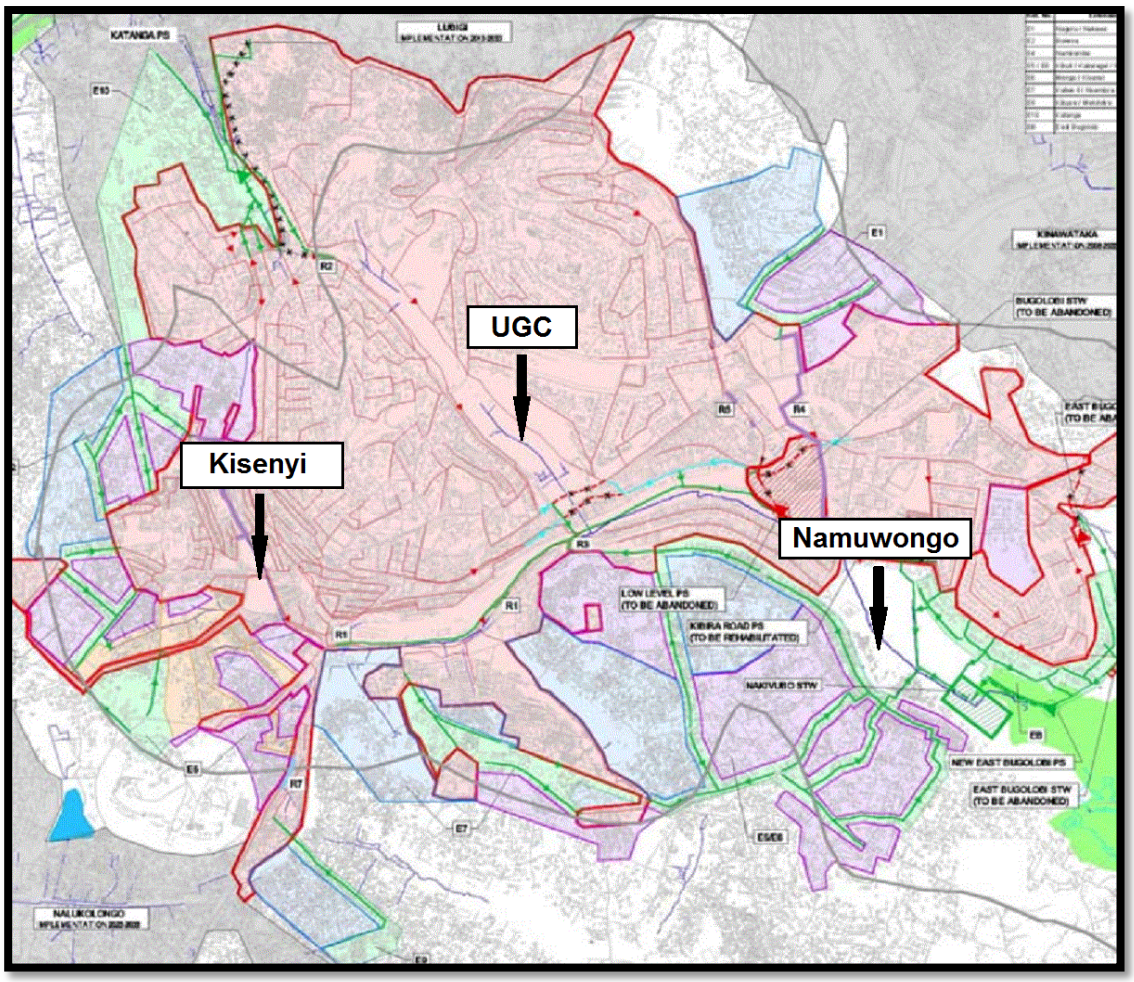


**Figure 17 Nakivubo Sewerage System: existing and planned**

**Key: red = existing system; green = implementation planned 2008-2013; magenta = implementation planned 2013-2033; blue = implementation planned 2023-2033**

***Source*: Image adapted from NWSC (2008: 0-6)**

The areas shaded in red are those that already have existing connections to the sewerage system. The settlement of Namuwongo, which can clearly be seen from the satellite image below (Figure 18), does not feature on the KSMP map. It is left as a blank space. Unlike Kololo, the area that surrounds the UGC, Namuwongo will not be

connected to the sewage system, and the city planners certainly do not envision any flush toilets being installed and used here.


**Figure 18 A satellite image showing Namuwongo settlement**

***Source*: Image adapted from Google Maps, available at https://maps.google.co.uk**

Kisenyi, which is part of Old Kampala, is coloured red on the KSMP map (Figure 17). According to the map's key, this colour zoning implies that all of the area around Kisenyi already has an existing sewerage connection. As described in Chapter 4, the city's existing sewer system was built during the colonial period, and Old Kampala was designated as the space of the colonised. My research with Kampala's town planners suggests that the colonial sewer system did

indeed creep across the cordon sanitaire into Old Kampala, but it was very limited in its coverage. Timothy, a KCC town planner, explains:

> "The sewer system does stretch into Old Kampala, but it only covers a very small portion. This used to be the Asian bazaar area. This area has some of the most dense urban growth in the city, and much of it is unplanned and now is slum settlements. This is very problematic and KCC are trying to develop the area around Owino market and the taxi park. But for sanitation, it is too costly to put in more sewer coverage. Instead, for this area, we have pay-per-use public toilets." (Interview with Timothy, KCC town planner, 12 January 2011.)

The interview with Timothy suggests that the contemporary sewage system does not cover all of Kisenyi, as Figure 17 implies. Rather, the existing sewerage infrastructure around this area remains connected to a limited number of buildings that were constructed in the mid twentieth century. The KSMP sewerage system map is not nuanced enough to take into account the limited coverage of sanitation infrastructure. As shown in Figure 17, the map assumes that because part of the area around Kisenyi has sewer coverage, then all of it does too, which is contrary to Timothy's remarks and to my research in Kisenyi. The interviews with participants in this research revealed that Kisenyi was one of the places along the Nakivubo Channel that

exemplified informal, unclean, and disordered aspects of urban life. For participant Kevin, who lives in a middle-class block of flats in Nakasero, Kisenyi is "so bad. It is dirty, it is filthy and polluted, and it is full of [traffic] jams. I don't go there" (interview with Kevin, 9 June 2011). Kisenyi is to be avoided. Kevin has a choice to avoid this "bad" area of town. He considers it to be dangerous and unpleasant, and as such, he chooses not to go there. If he does have to travel across town, he does so in his car with his windows up, doors locked, and air conditioning on. Yet for Adam, one of the caddies employed by the golf course, Kisenyi is home and he walks between the two places on an almost daily basis. Below, I discuss the (un)sanitary space of Kisenyi in more detail.

## 5.5 Informal, disorganised, and dirty: the case of Kisenyi

Kisenyi is located approximately three kilometres southwest of the UGC. Adam has lived here for eight years, and says that he would not choose to live in any other part of Kampala. This was the community that welcomed him when he first came to the city from the north of Uganda, when he headed to Kampala in search of work. Kisenyi was an area that housed some friends and some cousins; it was the only place he had contacts in the city and was, he says, his only option other than sleeping on the streets.

Adam, now 22 years of age, has done many jobs in Kampala. He has washed cars, hawked Chinese imported goods at the taxi park, sold

phone credit vouchers in crowded traffic jams, and now works as a caddy at the UGC. This job, he says, is the best one he has had because it gives him the opportunity to earn more money than any other job he has done. His income relies upon customers of the golf course to give their caddies tips. Caddying for one person is, Adam says, more likely to give him a good day's income than a week washing cars. He sometimes earns UGSH 20,000 (about £5) in a day, although because there are often more caddies than golf players, sometimes he goes home empty handed.

Adam's rented room, a small and dark room with a bare bulb hanging from the ceiling and a rickety wooden bed neatly made up in the corner, is in one of the three zones of Kisenyi.[28] This is an area of Kisenyi that is colloquially known "the Karamojong area". Adam lives a few meters away from Prossie who, like Adam, has come to Kampala from Karamoja. Prossie is 21 and has had three children, two of whom have died. She was pregnant with her fourth child when we meet. Prossie shares a room with other Karamojong women in Kisenyi. Their room is perhaps four meters by two meters; there are seven other women who sleep there regularly with Prossie, and many children

[28] An enumeration by an NGO in 2011 reported that Kisenyi's three zones had a total population of 23,662. In one zone of Kisenyi, 16% of the households had private toilets. In another zone, 70% of households were reported to have private toilets. This is a huge jump from the 14% that was reported in 2002, but the increase is thought to be because of the increase in middle income housing, rather than an increase in services for low income households (Dobson, Fricke, & Vengal, 2011).

also share this space at night. The landlord, a local Baganda man, charges them *busulu*, or rent, at UGSH 50,000 per month. The room is little more than a wooden hut, constructed from wooden slats nailed together with a corrugated iron roof.

Prossie, Adam, and Annette describe Kisenyi as "a slum". I question them about what they mean by this, and they each (separately) tell me to look around or look at the ground and the rubbish strewn around. "This is not a good place," says Prossie (interview with Prossie, 18 August 2010). She calls it home, and enjoys having her friends and children there, but its lack of water and sanitation services, dense population, and muddy ground mark it as slum. Annette agrees: "It is so muddy here, look around. And now it is shining [sunny]. When it is rainy season, it is so bad!" (Interview with Annette, 18 August 2010.)

Prossie, Annette, and the other women they share their room with, make money from shelling peas and beans at the nearby Owino market and they go to the streets to beg for money. Prossie says:

> "Begging on the streets is where I make my money. I can get sometimes 5000 shillings, but only if I send my boy out too. He will get more money. But now I am [pregnant] I will get some [more money too]." (Interview with Prossie, 23 June 2011.)

The women share their income and take turns to go to the streets to ask for money. Outside their home is a plastic sheet on which millet is drying out (this can be seen in Figure 19). This is used to make beer.

**Figure 19 Photo showing Kisenyi ground and millet drying**

***Source*: Photo taken by the author**

The women describe how they make the beer and sell it, how they find discarded plastic bottles to decant it, and how the beer is sometimes consumed in the mornings before going to the streets. "It makes time pass," says Prossie. The plastic bottles that the women use are washed out in the Nakivubo Channel before they fill them with beer. The Channel is useful, say the women, because the water is free. There is a NWSC metered water standpipe less than half a kilometre from their

home, but Prossie and Annette prefer to use the Channel, and the spring nearby, because this is free.[29]

Prossie, Annette, Adam, and his friend Simon tell me that there is only one place for toileting nearby. This is a public toilet that is run by KCC. This is a latrine-style toilet, with two separate stalls each for men and women, and contains one stall for showering (see photos below).

**Figure 20 KCC public toilets in Kisenyi**

***Source*: Photo taken by author**

KCC charge UGSH100 per visit, and there is no method of reducing the fees by monthly subscription. Consequently, the women will sometimes squat in the drainage channel and urinate during the

[29] People interviewed who live in Kisenyi report that a jerry can (about 20 litres) costs them UGSH 100.

daytime; they say they will not defecate there during the day or at night because it is "not OK to do that…at night it can be dangerous so we don't go there even for [urination]" (interview with Annette, 18 August 2010). The children, however, are allowed to urine and defecate there. The women will sometimes pay for the toilets, or they will defecate into plastic bags. The bags will be tossed somewhere nearby, usually into the Nakivubo Channel that the small drainage channel flows into, or they will collect the bags full of waste and pay for one toilet visit to deposit the bags in the public latrine.

There are two other public toilet blocks in Kisenyi, which serve a population of over 23,000 people (Dobson, Fricke, & Vengal, 2011). Private sanitation is limited, and difficult to calculate, but is estimated that in one zone in Kisenyi, 16% of households have access to on-site, private sanitation (Dobson, Fricke, & Vengal, 2011). The public toilets are all pay-as-you-go, and none of them are open for twenty-four hours a day. It is not known how many shared pit latrines exist in Kisenyi, but their existence is problematic. Kisenyi is low lying and pit latrines flood when it rains. It is also very difficult to empty pit latrines, as conventional sewage trucks cannot access them because the area is too densely populated for the trucks to access.

The community-based organisation, Kisenyi Organisation, runs one of the three public toilet blocks in Kisenyi, which was built in 2003. Between 2006 and 2010, the Kisenyi Organisation attempted to

persuade landlords to gift land to the community so they could construct pit latrines. Five latrines were constructed during this time, and these too are pay-per-use.[30] It was felt, however, that this is still too few to adequately serve the community. The group approached the city council to try and persuade KCC to assist. At the time of research, KCC was involved in a "slum upgrading" project, here named KCC-PE. I shadowed the staff at KCC-PE, and attended their team meetings and community visits during the period of my research. As will be shown in the following section, the staff of the KCC-PE project treated the community with a level of disdain and contempt that was informed by their belief that Kisenyi was a dirty and disorganised area.

### 5.5.1 KCC-PE in Kisenyi: experts in the failed sanitary landscape

Goretti is a community health worker with KCC. She believes that Kisenyi encapsulates a lot of what is wrong in Kampala. Goretti is employed by KCC to work on the KCC-PE project. KCC-PE is a five year project that is run in conjunction with the Belgian government, with a six million euro budget. KCC-PE has been mandated to "improve the capacity of KCC, influence behavioural change in Kampala's slums, and make significant environmental and housing

[30] These toilets are managed by an organisation that is affiliated to SDI International. It costs UGSH 100 per visit to the toilet.

improvements in these slum areas" (interview with Thompson, KCC-PE technical advisor, 2 August 2010). Kisenyi is one of the chosen communities that KCC-PE is working in, and was picked by the team after conducting a city-wide evaluation of "those slums that are most in need of development" (Nannette, KCC-PE community officer, 5 August 2010).

I interviewed a number of the staff at KCC-PE, and attended three staff meetings and four community visits towards the end of the project contract. The KCC-PE staff members were despondent about the project. Thompson candidly revealed his thoughts about the project's imminent end:

> "In all honesty, when the project finishes in July 2011, I feel that we will have failed. Particularly on our second key point [influencing behavioural change]… The sensitisation and community work has been a total failure." (Interview, 17 January 2011).

When asked why he thought KCC-PE was a failure, Thompson said that the convoluted procurement strategies of KCC stymied the ability of the project to move quickly and effectively. Land was also identified as major problem because of the lack of clarity about ownership. The enumeration conducted by the Ugandan Slum Dwellers Federation reported in 2011 that 83% of Kisenyi's inhabitants were tenants. Five

per cent of Kisenyi's inhabitants were classified as subtenants; seven per cent own the structure but not the land, and only four per cent of inhabitants own both the land and the structure (Dobson, Fricke, & Vengal, 2011). Tenure agreements are diverse, including *mailo* and leasehold.[31] The proximity of Kisenyi to the city centre means the land is highly sought after, and participants talked openly of the fear that they will be evicted in the near future as the area becomes more commercialised and home to more middle class properties. Thompson believes that the absence of good information on who owns what in Kisenyi has stymied the progress of the KCC-PE, as the project has found it difficult to purchase land to construct toilet structures and drainage channels.

Nanette and Goretti, however, blamed the communities and not the land tenure system for KCC-PE's lack of progress. They both identified the inhabitants of the area as "unfit for sensitisation" (interview with Nanette and Goretti, 20 January 2011). They used this term freely throughout my time with the KCC-PE project. It effectively denounces the inhabitants as unable to be educated about sanitation, which is one of the project aims and should be something that Goretti and Nanette are therefore committed to.

[31] The dearth of information regarding land ownership in the city has meant that it has proved impossible for me to assess the percentage of land in Kisenyi that is under *mailo* tenure. Dobson, Fricke, & Vengal's (2011) study had similar issues, despite their Kisenyi-specific quantitative research.

Sensitisation is word that is regularly used by the staff of KCC-PE, and it encompasses an idealised vision of sanitation: teaching people to be hygienic and to toilet in an acceptable manner. Toileting acceptability is moderated by health imperatives, but also by modern standards. The wrap and throw method of many Kisenyi residents, or what is colloquially known as "flying toilets", is not acceptable according to the KCC-PE staff. They advocate sensitising the community to use the pay-per-use toilets and not to defecate into plastic bags. In conversations with the staff about whether low-income earners can afford the UGSH 100 per toilet visit, they tell me that it is such a small amount of money that all residents can afford it. Moreover, the KCC-PE staff members tell me that, aside from when their toilet block first opened, none of them have used it. They do not see a problem with the smell inside the toilets, or that community members can only use the toilets between 6am and 11pm. However, on every trip to the community that I accompanied the KCC-PE staff on, they all made a point of going to the toilet at work or at a nearby café before visiting Kisenyi because they did not want to have to visit the very toilets they had helped to install. Black and Fawcett (2009) remark that "a programme to promote household sanitation…will ultimately fail" if it does not grasp that toilets should be:

> "congenial to use on a continuing basis, and should not [be filled] with bad odours… But some practitioners, who

> don't have to live with the facilities whose health benefits they recommend, seem to be nasally myopic on this point." (Black & Fawcett, 2008: 209)

This certainly seemed to be the case with the KCC-PE practitioners.

The rationale for KCC-PE's intervention in Kisenyi acknowledged several points: the area is impoverished; drainage is lacking and results in regular flooding; it is judged to be lacking in appropriate and safe sanitation. One of the interventions of the project that has been deemed a success is the stonewalling of a drainage channel that leads into the Nakivubo.


**Figure 21 Kisenyi stonewalling by KCC-PE**

***Source*: Image from KCC-PE project worker**

The stonewalling was implemented to:

> "Assist with the drainage in the area, so that place is much less muddy and likely to flood. This makes it much more of a formal place in the city, and not some backward

> upcountry bit in the middle of Kampala. It will promote real urbanisation, not the jumble of the informal areas as it is at present." (Interview with Thompson, 17 January 2011.)

This suggests that, contrary to the aims of the project that Thompson stated in an earlier interview in August 2010 (to influence behavioural change, environmental, and housing improvements in Kampala's slums), the ultimate aim of the project is to encourage formalisation of these areas. By improving the sanitation and drainage in the area, Thompson hopes that Kisenyi will become formalised, and presumably, not home to the current (informal) residents. It seems to encapsulate what McFarlane terms "malevolent urbanism," which he explains as "a process inherent to how capitalism works... [the] endless pursuit of markets and profit over just about everything else". McFarlane suggests that:

> "This might take the form of the simultaneous stigmatising and outcasting of the poor as 'dirt' alongside the refusal to recognise the inequalities of sanitation provision, or the demolition and dispossession of poor neighbourhoods or infrastructures, or an abandonment or punishment of marginal groups as undeserving of basic rights or even life itself." (McFarlane, 2012: 1289)

Prejudice and "outcasting" of the Kisenyi residents as "dirt" is apparent from the interviews and fieldwork with the KCC-PE staff. At the time of research, waste material clogged a small drainage channel that had been stonewalled in a similar manner to the one shown in Figure 21. Nanette and Goretti, as the team's community workers, were charged with liaising with the community to discuss this.

At a staff meeting prior to visiting Kisenyi in late January 2011, Nanette stated, "communication is a problem. They do not understand what we are telling them. They do not listen and they do not care." Goretti agreed, replying, "These ones are apathetic. They are dirty, they live in filth, but they don't care. They don't want this project, I think." The team nonetheless agreed on what was to be done and said during the community meeting the following day. Below is an excerpt from my field notes about the meeting. It is extensive, but is an important demonstration of the KCC-PE community workers' attitude towards the community that they are tasked with serving:

*In the morning, Goretti and Nanette left the office [for the community visit] with me accompanying them. On the way there, in the comfort of a gleaming white 4x4 truck complete with KCC-PE logo branded on the side, Nanette said to me, "You wait and see. They will be drunk. This will be a complete waste of my time."*

*When we reached Kisenyi, Nanette instructed the driver to wait at a nearby petrol station so that she could meet with a community leader first. Nanette was adamant that she would not "enter the community without Frank". She then instructed me to hold my bag close to me as the people there are liable to*

*snatch bags and pickpocket, and told me to be careful where I stepped because "these people are so filthy." She was agitated at the thought that her shoes, a pair of smart red leather strappy sandals, would become mucky. Frank arrived and escorted us through some narrow alleys into an open area surrounded by small shacks. The open space was around the spring, and there were several tarpaulins stretched out on the ground with millet drying in the sun. Some plastic chairs had been placed in the shade and we were told to wait there for the meeting. Everyone else who came sat on the floor. This made me feel very uncomfortable, but worse was to come. Nanette and Goretti were introduced by Frank, and the absolute disdain on their faces about being there was difficult to ignore. They refused to shake hands with any of the community members. Goretti nodded when offered a hand, and Nanette offered her elbow as a 'handshake', presumably because she didn't want to actually touch anyone there.*

*The meeting continued for less than twenty minutes, and consisted of Goretti talking directly to Frank in a combination of English and Luganda, with Frank translating to the attendees. Goretti's message was that defecating in the open and in plastic bags is a health hazard; that the people should use the public toilets that KCC have been kind enough to build nearby; that children are no different to adults and they too need to be made to visit the public toilets; and that the community need to take responsibility of the channel to ensure that it is not full of rubbish. She recommend that Frank organise a weekly clearance of the channel, and wrapped up the meeting by saying KCC-PE is terminating in the near future and could not be held responsible for the community's problems.*

*In a follow up staff meeting, the community meeting was summarised as thus:*

*"There is little we can do for these people. We have stonewalled the drain and they just misuse it! They really are not schooled and they are just drunk all the day. None of them have jobs so they just drink all the time. It is better that we focus on people who actually want to take responsibility for their community." (Nanette, staff meeting, 27 January 2011).*

The KCC-PE staff dismissed the residents of Kisenyi as uneducated wastrels. The perception of Kisenyi by this group of sanitation and health experts was that the users and inhabitants of this space were, and are, in need of interventions that will facilitate change. These interventions were designed to clean the space, ideally literally and figuratively, to rid the area of physical dirt and of unsanitary practices. The inhabitants' typecasting as of the space and its inhabitants as "dirty" by this group of experts corresponds to the views expressed during the mapping exercise (Figure 14 and Figure 15). This dominant interpretation of Kisenyi's representational space feeds into the assumed routines and networks of the area's inhabitants as spatially, socially, and economically limited; this necessarily has an impact upon the perceptions of the inhabitant's toileting performances and habits, which are understood to be unsanitary and unfit for inclusion in the urban space. Such dominant imaginations, which are informed by the historical marginalisation of the area,[32] provide a rationale for development interventions that are designed and planned to 'sensitise' the community and sanitise the space.

## 5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has shown the ways that the city of Kampala is imagined as being a dual city of un/planned, in/formality, and un/sanitary. The formal and planned city encapsulated by Kololo, the UGC, and its

[32] In particular, see Southall's (1967) comments that are detailed in Chapter 2.4.2 and Chapter 4.4.

environs, is understood as the idealised shitscape – this is the material and representational city that is clean, healthy, ordered, and networked. The sparkly clean toilets of Café Javas, shown in Figure 16, represent in material and practiced form of what idealised sanitary modernity is. Kisenyi, however, is dismissed as dirty, unhygienic, backward, and informal. Its material and performed sanitary space is an important factor in the imagination of the space, the infrastructures, and the people that inhabit it, as abject.

The mapping exercises revealed that the imagination of un/idealised spaces of Kampala was not lodged simply in the knowledge of expert planners and WATSAN development workers. Rather, knowledge of Kisenyi as dirty and slum was internalised by the participants that lived there, as well as these adjectives being ascribed to the space by experts and non-inhabitants. Its categorisation as unplanned and unsanitary, with undesirable toileting practices, was *known* and therefore widely understood within the context of the research as requiring intervention to be developed, made organised, and sanitised. The future shitscape must, therefore, be made ordered and modern. The components that make up the city's collective apparatus for managing bodily waste must adhere to idealised material and performed principles in order to be considered modern, hygienic, and ordered.

The modernising strategies employed by the KCC-PE project, such as the stonewalling of the de-facto open sewer (shown in Figure 21), are attempts to disinfect the area and rid it of dirt. Kisenyi's most impoverished inhabitants are themselves characterised as dirt by the KCC experts. The marginalisation of impoverished urban residents in Kampala, and the close association of immorality and dirt, provides an impetus for modernising strategies of urbanisation. This may, in time, have the effect of "pushing the poor away" as detailed in Cairo by Abaza (2001), and can lead to processes of gentrification and revanchism as argued by Smith (1990), Graham (2011), and Wacquant (2008).

The inherent assumption of the requirement for development intervention is that it is for the benefit of city and its inhabitants. The historical patterns of socio-spatial inequality, however, reveal that certain spaces and toileting practices have repeatedly been dismissed as dirty and backward. In Chapter 6, I therefore explore the logic to the toileting performances of informal inhabitants that are here dismissed as unclean, unhygienic, and immoral. This goes some way to countering the dominant imaginary of this cityspace that is presented in the expert planning discussed in Chapter 4, and the participatory mapping that is explained in this chapter. In Chapter 6, I also describe how inhabitants self-police, denying themselves entrance to particular elite areas on the (assumed) basis that they do not know the correct

habits and practices of these areas. The dominant assumptions of what should constitute a modern, urban shitscape are, however, shown not only to be exclusionary but also to be based on false assumptions of the material practices of toileting that discredit alternative sanitary knowledges.

# 6 The uncivilised shitscape

*[Favour shows me plastic bags and an old jerry can that has had its top cut off.] I have to use these things for toilets. What else can I do? This is just how it is. There is no money for those [pay-per-use] public toilets. I have no latrine in my place. It is one room. … I look after Winnie, and she is very sick. When she messes herself, I clean her. I have material that I use for cleaning [Winnie when she soils herself] and that Omo [detergent] there for washing [the material]. She sleeps here and I sleep on the floor. There is no other room. The landlord will not make a latrine. I give him the money I get. … In the morning, I go and I shell peas or help my friend at the market. That's how I make money, there. Money that is left over is for medicine for Winnie. My life is hard, but Jesus is with me. The Holy Spirit is with Winnie, too. (Interview with Favour, 6 June 2011.)*

## 6.1 Introduction

Favour lives in a one room brick house in Namuwongo, alongside the Nakivubo Channel (for a map of where this is located, see Figure 17 and Figure 18). She has lived in this area for nearly a decade, and has spent a large proportion of that time living with Winnie. Favour and Winnie are not blood relatives, but the two women are so close they describe themselves as sisters. Winnie is dying of HIV/AIDS. She lies on a mattress that is pushed against the wall, with a mosquito net tied back during the day. Their house has no electricity, and Favour collects water from a nearby stream for washing, cooking, and drinking.

Winnie is too weak to stand unaided. She is wracked by illness, but each time I visit she has energy to smile and squeeze my hand and quietly whisper her prayers of thanks for Favour's help. Describing her daily routines to me, Favour shows me how she tries to wake early to avoid disturbing Winnie, and will go behind the house in a small alleyway where she will squat into the jerry can to defecate. She wears a long wrapper to protect her modesty, but feels very vulnerable doing this, so will try and keep her toileting time to a minimum. Favour also manages Winnie's bodily waste, as Winnie is too weak to do so herself, and has little control over her bowel movements. Favour tells me that because Winnie is so unwell her stool is runny and pungent, but not plentiful because Winnie simply does not eat enough.

I begin this chapter with Winnie and Favour's story because it acts as an evocative reminder of what maps cannot illustrate. The maps of Chapters 4 and 5, which show Namuwongo as an empty space (such as the NWSC map in Figure 17) or describe is as a dirty slum (for example, in Figure 11), show imagined space and do not provide the fine-grained complexities of the many everyday lives that are lived within. This chapter is an attempt to place the sanitary multiplex into conversation with the dualised space that the mapping exercises presented.

As I described in the previous chapter, Kampala's (un)sanitary space has been deciphered and imagined as a duality of good and bad spaces

that correspond with imagined defecatory infrastructures. This constructs a dichotomy of sanitary practices and materials that label areas within Kampala as un/sanitary. Chapters 4 and 5 have also described the ways in which this dominant deciphering of the shitscape is formed and maintained: by the historical representations of space that remain potent in the contemporary city, by the connective infrastructure that manages the elimination of bodily waste from sight and smell, and by the associated images and symbols of toileting that define being sanitary, modern, and urban. The participant mapping of Kampala revealed the way that the city is spatially imagined in terms of sanitary in/competence, and the ways in which privilege and power is written into the shitscape. This chapter demonstrates how sanitary in/competence is not simply decided and imagined by the privileged urban elite. Anxieties over hygiene, and of access to and use of formal sanitary infrastructures are internalised by informal city inhabitants who are assumed to reject the logic of modern, urban asepticism.

As we shall see below, constrained financial circumstances are but one of the limits to the access and use of toileting facilities that are considered sanitary. The temporal and spatial dynamics of self-policing is also an important component to consider when deciphering the shitscape, as are alternative interpretations of how best to manage bodily fluids in densely populated low-income urban areas of Kampala. This chapter aims to show that defecatory practices in the

city are far more complicated than the binary interpretation of urbanity and competence deems it to be. There is a need to be cognisant of historically affective taboos about toileting and sanitation that remain important in the contemporary city. Colonial reports from Uganda describe customary beliefs that go some way to explaining why open defecation is not more common than it is. These records suggest that faeces was associated with complex taboos that limit the mixing of people's waste, and constrain the extent to which other people can access one's excreta for fear of being cursed (Gillanders, 1939). People would have specific, often gendered, demarcated spaces within which to openly defecate, and the use of latrines was only acceptable if the pits were deep enough that faeces could not easily be accessed. Such practices may, however, have been restricted in urban areas simply because space is more limited; yet, this research found that such taboos about defecation and beliefs about limiting physical contact with faeces are still very much part of everyday life, contrary to the views of many of the sanitation experts interviewed, and are evident in distinct ways.

How such taboos are formulated and why they are so powerful is not well understood (Jewitt, 2011), but as Douglas' (1966) work on dirt has shown, taboos surrounding waste are pervasive and rooted in differing spatio-temporal cultural interpretations. Indeed, limited understandings of these taboos has had quite a profound impact on

the Namuwongo community and their collective efforts to work with an NGO to construct toilets in the area, as shall be explored below (see Section 6.5).

This chapter argues that defecatory practices in Kampala must be understood as a multiplex way of ordering and managing bodily waste that "engages the urban environment in such a way that single items, objects, and experiences are put to many otherwise unanticipated uses" (Simone, 2004: 214). It is in this vein that the plastic bag shifts from being a convenient vessel to hold purchased goods, into a vessel that holds faeces, contains its smell, and expedites getting rid of it; seen in this way, and skilfully done, it performs to the same logics of a flush toilet. Likewise, open drainage channels like the Nakivubo facilitate the flow of urine and faeces, as well as of rainwater; and the pay-per-use public toilet transforms from being the single-visit transaction of one body's waste, as intended, to being a single visit transaction to dispose of the waste from multiple bodies. Further, we see that the pay-per-use toilets that are sanctioned by KCC and/or NGOs become a way to control the bodies of informal inhabitants, which serves to further exclude and perpetuate inequalities (Datta, 2012). I begin by revisiting the Uganda Golf Club, and a conversation with the caddy Adam that highlights multiple interpretations of the shitscape even in this most elite of Kampalan spaces.

## 6.2 Uganda Golf Club - redux

***Me**: Is the golf course always this pristine? It looks very beautiful today.*

***Adam**: Well, I am a caddy, so I see the golf course at all times, and not just the times that they [the members] come to play, or like now, when you are here. This [place] is not always so green. Sometimes it is flooded, and it really is horrible. That part over there [gesturing to the ninth hole] is the worst bit when it rains or when the channel gets blocked. But it is the job of the club and the green keepers to make it look as good as it can be all the time.*

***Me**: So what do you think might happen if it wasn't always so well looked after?*

***Adam**: The members would not like it if it wasn't like this all the time. They come here because it is so open and green. The air here smells so fresh! It isn't like lots of other places in Kampala. Maybe that's why [the members] come here. And also why they have to be so rich! [Laughs.]*

***Me**: And what happens if things go wrong? Or if there is stuff in the channel or it overflows onto the course?*

***Adam**: The green keeping team are here all the time, and even very early in the morning to make sure it doesn't get seen by players. Even if I see anything in [the Kitante channel], such as [plastic] bags or sometimes hospital things like needles and even human waste, then I either have to pick it up if it is safe and go throw it away, or I report it straight away. … It cannot be that they [the members] see this. They would complain a lot. Sometimes they do anyway, when the flooding is really bad, because then there is nothing we can do. We just have to close the hole [around which the channel has flooded]. Also there are complaints when it smells bad. That's also why we have to clean the channel every day. This helps with the smell. But… I think the maintenance of course and around [the course] is one of the best things about here. We wouldn't be the Uganda Golf Course if we didn't keep it so nicely." (Interview with Adam, 31 May 2011.)*

This excerpt from an interview with Adam is illuminating for a number of reasons. He is clearly very proud to be a part of the UGC and of its maintenance. His use of "we" indicates his feeling of inclusivity: he very much considers himself integral to the management of the course, and is gratified by his part in persevering the pristine look, smell, and thus reputation of the UGC. The UGC is seemingly never imagined as a dirty place: its exclusivity requires that it upholds certain standards, including being clean and hygienic. The paying members must not be privy to the work that goes in to managing the space, and when the city's shitscape impinges upon the golf course by flooding over the boundary of the Kitante it must be hidden from the members as soon, and as effectively, as possible. This might mean the physical removal of waste material, or the diversion (physical removal) of members from the affected area, in order to sustain the imagination of the golf club as a green urban space rather than a site of sewage overflow.

Occurrences of the Kitante flooding serve as stark reminders of the presence of the shitscape; the channel's oozing transgresses the boundaries of cleanliness and order that UGC works hard to deny. Such fluid transgressions, which are highly sensory and difficult to conceal, destabilise its social status as modern and clean. As has been outlined throughout this thesis, dirt and sanitation are highly

influential in deciphering boundaries of social status (Douglas, 1966), and the related social hierarchies that operate between and within cities. Incidents of the Kitante flooding onto and seeping into the golf course not only threaten the high aesthetic of the UGC, then, but also serve as a reminder that the golf club is situated in the global south. As one UGC member told me, "It's brilliant here, definitely one of the best places in Kampala, but you still know you're in Uganda" (interview with Scott, 1 June 2011).

The golf club employees work hard every day to ensure that these sanitary transgressions are limited, however. The curious thing about this is not necessarily the expectation of cleanliness along the Kitante at the golf club; rather, it is the expectation that spatial cleanliness equates to civility, and vice versa. Inherent in the assumption that elite space is clean, good sanitation is also presumed to be the preserve of civil people – that is, people who know how to be clean and be sanitary. And yet, as Adam points out, people like him, from areas of the city that are imagined as unclean and uncivil, are integral to making UGC sanitary on a daily basis.

When I raise this point in an interview with Stewart and Arnold, two members of UGC, their responses were blunt. Stewart remarked that without leadership and direction, the golf club would not be kept as well as it is. Arnold echoes his view; they understood that the UGC workers, such as Adam, were incapable of doing their jobs on their

own. Implicit from Stewart and Arnold's interviews is that direction must come from a particular type and class of person that knows the rules for cleanliness and civility. Stewart says that, "The people who work here are managed, ultimately by the Secretary, and he is a good sort. They [the employees] don't necessarily know what to do to keep the place; they get told what to do" (interview with Stuart and Arnold, 30 May 2011). Arnold agreed, and likened the golf club employees to the domestic workers who look after his home:

> "The people who work here [at UGC] are equivalents of my house girls. At home, it's me or my wife who tells them what to do. If we didn't direct them [the house helpers], God knows what state the house would be in. We'd be paying them for us to live in a pig sty. Doubtless, the same could be said of the [golf] course if the green keepers weren't managed." (Interview with Stuart and Arnold, 30 May 2011.)

Stewart nodded in agreement, and when the conversation turned to toilets and different methods and practices of toileting, he applied a similar logic to justify toileting differentiation according to perceived social status and civility. He stated that he refused to let his domestic employees use the same toilets as he and his family, and that the employees were only allowed to use the outside latrines that were

located next to the staff accommodation, or the "boys quarters". He said:

> "It's not because I'm racist or some other sort of 'ist' but I won't let the house girls use our loos. I just don't think it's right to share my arse space with theirs! [Laughs] They have their own ones, and they don't use our ones inside. They have the squat ones [latrines] and [if the house help used the inside toilets] it'd probably be a mess, and I don't want that. The whole point of having [the employees] is to keep the house clean." (Interview with Stuart and Arnold, 30 May 2011.)

Stewart's views demonstrate his belief that cleanliness and civility are linked to social class, and that in situations - such as at the golf club and in his home - where elites are in close quarters with low-income individuals, management and regulation is vital for the sanitary infrastructure to remain clean, and for the surrounding space to be therefore civilised space. It also signals a shift from the colonial city, where registers of sanitary and civil difference were focused on race, to the post-colonial city in which class is key. Gender, as shall explore below, remains a critical element of maintaining inequality.

Adam is cognisant of the unequal power relations that are inherent in the dynamics between employee-employer, and is sanguine about his

aspirations and desires being unacknowledged by Kampala's middle and upper class inhabitants:

> "Maybe they [the UGC club members] think that only rich people can come here because they are the ones that like it the best, but … it is me that helps to make it like this and I like it a lot. I wish I could live in a place like this. I like that the air smells so clear. It is so nice." (Interview with Adam, 28 May 2011.)

The vast majority of Kampala's inhabitants are excluded from UGC because of the club's formal membership system that relies upon huge financial and social capital - the former because of the club's membership fees, and the latter because of the club's requirement for prospective members to be recommended by existing ones. This exclusivity of the club might obviate the risk of having "undesirables" within the confines of the course, but it does not necessarily preclude those within the course boundaries from performing unwanted toiletry actions, as both Adam and Stewart admit to having urinated behind shrubs on the course. Both knew that this is not allowed, and yet member and employee still performed this act of toileting defiance. For Stewart, he felt that the amount of money that he spends in membership fees and at the club generally rendered him untouchable from the club stripping him of membership, temporarily banning him, or simply verbally admonishing him for urinating in public. Adam,

however, realises that he could lose his job if caught urinating on or nearby the course, yet he still does it, laughing as he says to me:

> "Maybe… I think it's because I am stubborn. It's very strict [at the golf course], so doing this sometimes… It's… [Laughs] I don't know! Eeeeeh! The bosses don't know and… Maybe that's why we do it!" (Interview with Adam, 28 May 2011.)

Adam's urinating challenges the pristine and sanitary order of the golf course. Adam is almost giddy when he describes urinating at work. It is indicative of his realisation that this is a dangerous thing to do - he could, after all, lose his job. This is a small act of defiance that is made ordinary by virtue of what it is he is doing - urinating. If Adam defecated on the course, the message of defiance (and possibly the consequences) would be much greater. But Adam also realises that it is a calculated action that he and some of his fellow employees do. The workers' in-depth knowledge of the course - and crucially of the scrubland around the boundaries of the course - permits them a degree of knowledge about the space and the rhythms therein that their employers, or so Adam believes, do not have.

This toileting defiance is a form of resistance against the golf club's material and spatial appropriation of cleanliness, one which recalls

Scott's "weapons of the weak" thesis (Scott, 1985).[33] However, other acts of toileting practice along the Nakivubo might not be read as resistance in the same way as Adam's deliberate urination. Toileting practices that involve defecating into plastic bags and throwing them into the Nakivubo *might* be interpreted as resistance, or anger, at not having other toileting infrastructures available. These practices could be read in a similar manner to postcolonial scholars such as Appadurai (2001) and Legg (2007) who categorise resistance as collective articulations of rights-claiming. Yet as the remainder of this chapter will clarify, reading "uncivil" toileting as empowering acts of resistance is too simple: it limits how participation is understood; it masks the precarity of informality; and disguises the role of the municipal authorities in maintaining informality (Roy, 2011). Intimate acts such as toileting inherently place the body in a position of vulnerability, and this is made even more apparent when people have limited toileting privacy, as illustrated by the vignette at the beginning of this chapter. However, knowing about the rhythms of the city's toileting spaces can facilitate access to particular "good" types of sanitary infrastructures and materials that are otherwise not available

[33] Scott draws attention to "the everyday forms of peasant resistance – the prosaic but constant struggle between the peasantry and those who seek to extract labour, food, taxes, rents and interest from them" (Scott, 1985: 29). He argues that overt forms of resistance or rebellion are limited and dangerous, and "stop well short of collective outright defiance" (Scott, 1985: 29).

to informal inhabitants of the city. This is explored in more detail in the following section.

## 6.3 Accessing idealised toileting space

Adam's comments about his desire for "clear air" and "nice" toilets resonate with modernist discourses of sanitation, order, and cleanliness. An internalisation of such rhetoric is seen throughout my interviews with inhabitants of Kampala's informal areas and, as Adam demonstrates through his urination on the edges of the course, a knowledge of the time-space rhythms of the city's shitscape is extremely useful in working out when and how to transgress sanitary socio-spatial boundaries. This not only allows for expressions of defiance, however limited those might be, but it also enables inhabitants to express desires for better toileting infrastructures in such a way that manages their fear and anxiety about contravening dominant, and idealised, spaces of toileting.

Aminah, like Adam, is an inhabitant of Kisenyi. She is in her early 20s, and spends much of her time sitting outside Garden City shopping mall. She sits there in order to make her living, by asking passers-by for money. Her story indicates a desire for flush toilets, and is also one that demonstrates how knowledge of the temporal rhythms of Kampala can help her access one particular toilet in an elite part of the city. Below, she describes to me why she came to Kampala and her working conditions in the city:

"I live in Kisenyi with the other [women] that you know [Prossie and Annette]. I have stayed in Kampala for some years, around six. This is my place for work. I did not go to school. I come from the north. I knew these ones [Prossie and Annette] from there. When I was younger, the north was dangerous. We shifted [moved] a lot. Sometimes we would hide. My father was taken by the soldiers and I lost my brothers also. My mother made us [Aminah and her two sisters] come to the city. We thought there would be work and also food. But it is so expensive here that even getting food is hard. So that is why I do my work here [outside Garden City]. I don't come everyday. Some of us, we take it in turns to do this and we share the money. For us, this is good, because we all pay the landlord for our room. I don't go inside [Garden City]. I just sit here. I don't like it because there is no shade, it is always shining. When it is rainy season, we don't come here so much. But we also have plastic that we cover [ourselves] with. That means we can keep sitting here. Sometimes I can get 5,000 UGSH. Most times, it is less than that, maybe two or three thousand shillings in one day. It is small money." (Interview with Aminah, 10 January 2011.)

Aminah's story is a common one amongst Karamojong people living in Kampala. The north of Uganda has experienced armed conflict since the late 1980s, and despite a cessation in hostilities agreement in 2006, an estimated 30,000 people remain in camps for internally displaced persons (IDPs) in northern Uganda (IDMC, 2012). Violence and a lack of livelihood opportunities in the north have also resulted in many people like Adam, Aminah, and Prossie moving to Kampala to attempts to build a more stable life.[34] For Aminah, the move to the capital city has not worked out how she thought it might:

> "Living here is difficult. Everything is very expensive, food costs a lot of money, and rent as well. I have three children, and to feed them is difficult. School fees for the children is difficult because I have little money. … In my home [in the north], sometimes it was dangerous, but in the villages, they can plant food to eat. It doesn't cost [money] like here." (Interview with Aminah, 10 January 2011.)

Aminah sits outside of the Garden City shopping mall, with her wrapper around her and her hand turned so that the palm faces upwards, in a gesture of request. This is how she earns her living. She feels that there is no other way she can get money, other than sex

[34] Statistics quoted in Powell's (2010) review of Karamoja estimate that 80% of Kampala's beggars are from the region, and that almost all of the capital's homeless children are from Karamoja.

work. Begging is a highly gendered activity; Aminah says that amongst her Kisenyi Karamojong community, it is women and disabled men who ask for money. Able-bodied men do not take part. "[Men] will not do this. They think it is not the right thing for them. It is up to us to do it," she says (interview with Aminah, 10 January 2011).

Aminah sometimes takes her smallest child with her too, as she thinks that this increases her earnings. She usually arrives mid-morning, and will stay until late afternoon. In the morning before coming to her earning space, she prepares for the day ahead: getting the children bathed from the nearby stream water; collecting last night's bottles filled with urine and taking them to the public toilets to dispose of, ensuring that she has the one hundred shillings to pay for entry; washing clothes in the stream; preparing *malwa* with the other women; cooking maize or yams or millet to eat for the morning meal. During the term time, she encourages the children to use the toilet facilities at the school, because it is free to use; outside of term time, it can be problematic to afford to use the public toilets, especially if one of the family has diarrhoea, because the cost becomes prohibitive. If this happens, a plastic bucket is designated for defecating in, and is regularly emptied behind the house into a ditch. The ditch is not stonewalled, and is roughly sculpted out of the ground. The ditch connects to a larger stonewalled drainage channel, which joins up to

the Nakivubo at the bottom of the hill. And I do not think it is too far to suggest that the Nakivubo receives the bodily waste of thousands of people living in this particular area alone; Dobson, Fricke, and Vengal (2011) estimate that this zone of Kisenyi has a population of 6,700, of which 16% have access to a private toilet. My research and that of Dobson, Fricke, and Vengal (2011) indicates that flying toilets and other informal toileting practices are used by the majority of those inhabitants who do not have a private toilet.

And given that "going to the bathroom" - in the sense that a person visits a toilet when the body needs to expel fluids - is not an easy, or viable, thing for Aminah to do as and when she needs, I ask her about other public places for her to go, including when she is at Garden City. The nearest pay-per-use public toilets to GC are about a twenty minute walk away, and charge two hundred shillings, and Aminah says she only uses these ones when she absolutely has to; the nearest public toilets are the free-to-use ones inside GC, yet despite sitting outside the perimeter of the mall less than two hundred meters from the entrance to the toilets, she has used these facilities only once before, as will be discussed below.

For Aminah, and many of the other people I met living in the most impoverished parts of Kampala, GC is a space they do not belong to. The area is normalised as a space of wealth and privilege, one that writes out the majority of the city's inhabitants. In other words, it is a

normal and accepted part of Kampalan life that only certain people can go into Garden City mall, so much so that no formal rules and regulations need to be put in place to assess whether or not people belong there. Aminah knows that there are a number of factors that preclude her from taking part in the consumptive experiences of GC: quite apart from the fact that she has access to extremely limited finances, she feels that the way she dresses is too different, that she does not shop in big shops and is unsure of how they work, and that she walks everywhere in the city and does not have a car like so many of GC's patriots. Her class positioning precludes her from joining the crowds within the mall, and she expresses anxiety when I ask her about going inside.

Aminah feels that she is not part of this (idealised) community; it is so strongly felt for her that her exclusion from GC is fact, and is undisputable knowledge, to such an extent that even if she is desperate for the toilet she will not enter GC to go to the non-pay-per-use lavatories inside. Instead, she will control her bodily urges if she can, opting to remain seated outside the shopping mall with a distended bladder and aching bowels. It is painful, she concedes, but not worth the shame of being rejected or shunned from the mall. If she cannot hold her bodily fluids until it is time to go home, she will walk for fifteen or twenty minutes to the nearest public pay-for-use toilet block, or in extreme circumstances, hide behind the bushes around the

corner from GC and squat outside. The mundane act of toileting is, for Aminah, a difficult and contentious one made all the more difficult by the proximity to the mall and its free toilets that preclude her admittance.

The GC mall offers a tantalisingly nearby toileting option for people like Aminah who earn their living outside of the confines of the mall, yet denies them the opportunity to utilise these facilities via self-regulation. This denial of admittance can cause extreme physical discomfort and emotional distress, as this excerpt from a conversation with Aminah and Annette demonstrates:

> **Aminah**: It hurts to not go [to the toilet when you need to].
>
> **Annette**: Yes, it is very very painful.
>
> **Aminah**: Even sometimes we cry.
>
> **Annette**: It is true! And I hate it if I have to go there in the outside [bushes].
>
> **Aminah**: It is not nice. It is dirty and we might be seen. It is not right.
>
> **Annette**: Mmm, it's not [shakes her head].
>
> **Aminah**: And it can be dangerous. We are women. We don't want to be naked.

> **Annette**: But what can we do? We are stuck. We go there for work because we have little money. We have no choice.
>
> **Aminah**: There really… there is no, nowhere with toilets anywhere for us to go. (Interview with Aminah and Annette, 12 January 2011.)

Aminah and Annette say that they opt not to think too much about this, as it causes them anger and sadness. The ways that Aminah and Annette describe to cope with the difficulties associated with everyday toileting whilst at work include rotating which of the women go to GC to beg, and not consuming a large meal before they go to the mall. They will, however, often drink *malwa* in the morning in a convivial group consumptive experience that is meant to make a difficult time pass more quickly. As well as these (non) eating strategies to cope with the lack of toileting options within this controlled space, the women of Kisenyi who work nearby GC disclosed to me another practice that they partake in: visiting GC in the Christmas holidays. Aminah confides:

> "We know that at Christmas time the city is so quiet. Everyone goes upcountry. But for me, I don't go because I have no family left there. So I stay in Kampala. This is the only time I will go inside [GC]. The entrance doesn't close

> but some of the shops are closed inside. So we go because we know that it is quiet. We were the only ones. We do not get removed." (Interview with Aminah, 10 January 2011.)

For the vast majority of her time there, Aminah experiences GC from the outside. She has only ventured into its confines during a specified time, at Christmas, when she knows that the mall's usual occupants are likely to be absent. This offers Aminah and her friends an exciting opportunity to go to somewhere they would normally never go; it is not that she is prevented from entering GC during the rest of the year, but rather because of the self-knowledge that she does not belong there, and she and the other Kisenyi female participants self-police their city rhythms according to an unsaid code of belonging.

Christmas offers a time when the space of GC shifts from being one that does not seem permissive to Aminah to one that facilitates her admittance. It demonstrates, as Mels (2004: 3) writes, that people are "rhythm-makers as much as place-makers". The quietness of the mall at this time, the fact that many Kampalans have left the city for the holidays, changes the dynamics of the space as its social norms are temporarily suspended in the absence of the mall's usual accepted clientele, allowing its boundaries to be transgressed. Aminah and her friends therefore feel as if they are allowed to enter the mall at this

time, because as Annette states, "the ones who are usually there go away" (interview with Annette, 12 January 2011).

This is not only an exciting time to explore inside the mall, but is one that offers the women several opportunities. For Aminah, it was the first time she had used a flush toilet. She, and several of the other women, expressed their delight at using the flush version because it was unlike their usual practices. It is also representative of an aspiration: to own their own flush toilet, to have a physical symbol of wealth. As Jeanne told me, "for us, this is like being you" (group interview with Kisenyi women, 13 January 2011). Not one of the people interviewed who had used the GC toilets solely at Christmas time said that they did not know how to use them, contrary to the beliefs of the community development workers that worked with the women in Kisenyi (as described in Chapter 5). Several of the women said that they were disappointed that the toilets were not in better condition, and that they had expected the mall to be more spectacular and opulent. The excerpt below illustrates the expectation of the mall toilets as being "smart", and reveals it as a favourable circumstance to appropriate some objects:

> **Aminah**: It was like we were the only people there. This was my holiday. And I even used the smart toilets inside. I took some [loo] paper! That was my Christmas gift to me.

> **Annette**: Me also. I also took the paper. Even the soap! These people there have money and I have no money so I don't feel bad for taking it, even if the Bible says not to steal.
>
> **Jeanne**: I don't think it is like stealing! We are all God fearing! But these ones [people] can give these small things to us like the paper and the soap. (Group interview with Kisenyi women, 13 January 2011.)

For the majority of the year GC remains a bastion of Kampala's elite, admitting a particular type of inhabitant and excluding the majority of the city's population. And yet, over the Christmas holidays, there is a limited time in which its rhythms shift and allow Aminah and her friends to go inside and, indeed, to take a little part of the mall back to their homes. In the absence of formal toileting infrastructure at home or at their workplace, these women highlight their in-depth knowledge of the city's cadences so that they can take advantage of opportunities – no matter how small or seemingly trivial – to make their everyday lives better. That only women sit outside Garden City asking for money is no coincidence, as discussed above.

These women's stories of their toileting experiences suggest that Kampala is a place where gendered assumptions about responsibility for sanitation and hygiene remain grounded as being the preserve of

women. There is, as Purcell (2011) notes, a tendency of people to regulate themselves: to know where they belong are where they should not go. This, Purcell says, is a "part of the subtle working of hegemony and the conditioning of people to read the semiotics of the street" (Purcell, 2011: 279). And yet there are certain temporal rhythms of this particular space that lend themselves to a shift in the perception of belonging and regulation. Within this shopping mall, this space of control, there are temporal-spatialities of subversion that distort what Dennis Wood (2011) calls the "poverty of participation" that marginalises and discriminates against all but the idealised type of urban inhabitant.

These rhythms, and knowledges of sanitary practices in the city, have an impact on sanitary development initiatives in Kampala, and upon whose shoulders the onus is placed, as we shall see when we follow the Nakivubo to the informal settlement of Namuwongo. There we see that redefining and reworking the city's dominant interpretations of the shitscape is not limited to the Kisenyi women who sit outside GC. The following sections explore methods of toileting that could be described as "uncivil": the (non)utilisation of objects and materials in such a way that is contrary to their dominant deployment. This is illustrated by two key tropes in Kampala: the use of plastic bags (flying toilets), bottles, and buckets as utilising objects not meant for human waste to manage and dispose of bodily liquids; and the non-

utilisation of sanitary infrastructure that was funded and implemented by organisations external to its locale. I turn to the former first, and go across Kampala from Garden City along the Nakivubo to the settlement of Namuwongo, and to Kisenyi, to explore such "uncivil toileting" in both locales.

## 6.4 Uncivil toileting?

Elizabeth is an inhabitant of an informal settlement in Namuwongo. She lives nearby to Favour and Winnie, who were quoted in the beginning of this chapter. The burden of care falls upon Favour and Elizabeth, and HIV/AIDS has affected all three of these women's lives. For Elizabeth, it is her grandchildren that she is tasked with looking after, and their health is a relentless concern. The children's mother, her daughter, died from HIV/AIDS, and she is unsure whether the children are infected too. She describes her daily routine to me as thus:

> "I get up before the children. I wash, get dressed, prepare some food and wake the children. I am old and sometimes I struggle to get everything ready, so the children help, like with getting water – they fill the jerry cans and bring it back. The water is to drink and to wash and for preparing food and cleaning the dishes. I worry about the children because some of them are small. They don't always want to play or help out because they are tired. Maybe they are hungry or maybe they are sick. If

> they are sick, this is a struggle because we are poor and to take them to [the medical clinic] is a lot of money. We make sure the house is tidy; we sweep and wash things, and [for toileting] we use the buckets only outside [in the communal washing area behind the house]. It is disease, all [of its contents]… it is bad. I do not want it here [in the house]. If it is outside, and the dishes are clean (I even put them in the sunshine to help make sure there is no disease) then we will be not sick so much." (Interview with Elizabeth, 31 January 2011.)

Diarrhoea is a frequent occurrence for the whole family, and is one of the reasons Elizabeth gives for being so fastidious about emptying the buckets into the Nakivubo, away from the house. The buckets are required for toileting as the family do not have their own latrine and cannot afford the two hundred shillings it costs per visit to the public ones nearby. Elizabeth relies on the children's plastic collecting for some of the household income, as they can get money for taking it to the recycling plant; her daily income, she estimates, rarely exceeds UGSH 2500 (about 60 pence). She feels that using this money on the public toilets is wrong, saying:

> "Their mother is passed. I am their one [carer] and we are poor. My money is my money. It is not for these things [toilets]. This is for government. Why do they not give us

> these things?" (Interview with Elizabeth, 31 January 2011.)

Elizabeth's sentiments echo what many residents in Namuwongo were expressing during interviews: that there is a need for government agencies to provide services in Namuwongo, and that the area is felt to be overlooked and ignored by KCC and central government. Such opinions were expressed not just for toileting, but also for other public services and infrastructure such as garbage collection, water provision and road tarmacking. Jeremiah, a 24-year-old man who subsidises his income through "picking" (recycling found objects, or opportunistic petty thieving), agrees with Elizabeth. He states,

> "This [toilets] is needed! We need to live. I can build a house from small small things but it is too too difficult to make the latrine […] But it is how they want it, the Big Men, the Untouchables. They do not want to help with this, even if Museveni said he would provide, we haven't seen anything." (Interview with Jeremiah, 3 February 2011.)

Jeremiah is angry with the number of broken promises from those in power; here, he is referring to President Museveni's [2011] election campaign that included a pledge to build more toilets in the city (Mukasa & Mulondo, 2010). Thus far, toilet construction has not

commenced. This furthers a profound sense of being left out of decision-making and exacerbates sentiments of being marginalised from participating in Kampalan life, except for when politicians are in need of votes (Muhumuza, 2011).[35]

Unlike Kisenyi, which is located on *mailo* land, Namuwongo is situated on designated public wetlands. Through part of the settlement runs the city railway line, and the land that lies directly on either side of this belongs to the Uganda Railways Corporation (URC). Excluding the tract of land that is owned by the URC, the rest of the informal settlement of Namuwongo is located on land that is designated as wetland, and is therefore the preserve of NEMA, the Ugandan environmental agency. This absolves KCC of any responsibility for service provision. The area's only public toilets are located at the perimeter of the settlement, near the road and the markets. There are two KCC owned toilet blocks, which have six stalls each, and two NGO-constructed toilet blocks with eight toilet stalls between them. These four toilet blocks serve approximately 12,000 people. They are all pay-per-use. I shall explore the contestation concerning the NGO toilet blocks below, but beforehand I turn to one of the key toileting methods that inhabitants use in situations where they have limited

[35] Muhumuza (2011) notes that President Museveni has traditionally pandered to rural voters. Although Kampala is increasingly hostile towards Museveni and the NRM, its informal populations in particular remain important battlegrounds for gathering extra voters.

access to toilets, a practice that is conceived of as "uncivil" in the dominant reading of toileting in the city.

For Jeremiah, like so many of his neighbours, the lack of toilets in Namuwongo means employing a variety of tactics to circumvent this everyday inconvenience. Jeremiah has more disposable income than Elizabeth and can utilise other toilets in the city, including those that are cheaper than the UGSH 200 ones in Namuwongo. It enables him to diminish his reliance on *kaveera*, bottles and buckets to toilet in, and for Jeremiah, this is empowering. As detailed in Chapter 5, Namuwongo and Kisenyi are two places along the Nakivubo that are identified as "slum", and are associated with modernist discourses of dirt and disorder. Interviews and ethnographic fieldwork with inhabitants of these areas, such as Jeremiah and Elizabeth, reveals a strong internalisation of these discourses and of positionality as slum dweller. This in turns affects the perceived ability of inhabitants to negotiate and barter for different and improved sanitary infrastructure, as is demonstrated with a Namuwongo community initiative to construct new toilets in the area (see section 6.5 below).

In places where sanitary infrastructure is lacking, however, Elizabeth and Jeremiah use a variety of toileting coping on a daily basis. One of the methods that residents use to navigate the lack of toilets is to make use of flying toilets. This refers to the practice of using plastic bags to defecate into, and the bags' subsequent disposal, often by throwing it

away (hence the bag of faeces is "flying"). Rather than the full bags being tossed anywhere, however, residents describe being strategic in the way they get rid of their waste. Unlike recent events in Cape Town in South Africa, where human excrement was thrown at political leaders in emotive and visceral demonstrations about the city's sanitary inequalities (Torchia, 2013), the shit of Kampala's flying toilets is not thrown into public spaces in such overt, or organised, political ways.

**Figure 22 Flying toilet (burst)**

*Source*: **Photo taken by Kyle Schutter, available at http://takamotobiogas.com/just-for-fun/bwaise-slum/**

The majority of participants living in Namuwongo described throwing their flying toilets into the drainage channels nearest their homes, or

walking to the larger Nakivubo to dispose of their waste. Figure 23 below is a photograph of the Nakivubo Channel nearby the settlement, and clearly shows its congestion. The waste in the channel is by no means constituted entirely by the nearby inhabitants, as my interviews and fieldwork revealed the dumping of solid waste (rubbish) and bodily waste by nearby factories, private sanitary contractors, and the city abattoirs.

**Figure 23 Congested Nakivubo Channel at Namuwongo**

***Source*: Photo taken by author**

Inhabitants, though, state its congestion as a justifying reason for throwing their bodily waste there. The Nakivubo is a public space that is not well looked after by the city authorities, and is a space that is not home. Informal inhabitants maintain the private space of home as sanitary and ordered. To throw flying toilets into the Nakivubo is not seen as a defilement of public space by these inhabitants, which is how it is read within the dominant discourse of the city's shitscape. Therefore these inhabitants of the city become marginalised in part through their attempt to manage waste. Participants stated that they could not get rid of their bodily waste in private, as middle and upper class residents can, and that accessing public conveniences was problematic because they were expensive and had limited opening times. Flying toilets offer a degree of privacy in that the act can be done at home, and provide containment of shit and its smell. To get rid of defecatory products by tossing it into any open space was described as problematic for a variety of reasons, including health concerns and taboos about faeces (see below). The Nakivubo was not conceptualised by Namuwongo participants as public space in the same way that the swamps around it were. The swamps are used by many residents as a space of peri-urban agriculture and provide an income for many. The Channel, however, was seen as the responsibility of KCC, and because the authorities fail to maintain it, it is the area that is least problematic to throw flying toilets into. Participants did not, then, throw their

waste anywhere. The use and tossing of flying toilets is a tactical toileting performance in very constrained socio-economic and infrastructural circumstances.

A limited number of participants did, however, describe throwing their flying toilets in spaces that were seen as demonstrative of inequality. Six of the residents interviewed admitted throwing flying toilets onto particular rooftops. Jacob, an energetic man in his late teens, describes his flying toilet practice, stating that he can, "just throw it up there and they will not know. They … don't have to use the *kaveera*, so I think they can have mine!" (Interview with Jacob, 15 February 2011).

His friend Evans details saving his full *kaveera* for his early morning walk to the taxi park, where he works selling newspapers. He says he will throw his bags in one of three places, either into or nearby the Nakivubo Channel, onto the roof of a small plastic-recycling company, or on the ground near the railway tracks (interview with Evans, 15 February 2011). The Nakivubo Channel and the railway tracks are not *of* the residents; both are seen as unproblematic spaces to throw faeces and plastic bags in and onto. The rooftops belong to those who are in various ways different from the average Namuwongo resident, and I think it is correct to interpret this as a sign of disrespect and anger at urban inequalities; but because my research suggests that this is restricted to a small number of individuals and is not a commonplace

way of getting rid of flying toilets, I do not think it is correct to label throwing flying toilets as a politicised or emotive act.

There was a similar response to flying toilets from inhabitants of Kisenyi, a place that was explored in Chapter 5. Residents of both locations showed me where and how they used the plastic bags to defecate into, and where and how they disposed of them. 22-year-old Stephen talks frankly about this use of flying toilets, and about what he sees as a misalignment of KCC and residents' expectations:

> "I am training to be a mechanic because I like fixing things, but this thing with the toilets, I cannot fix! [Laughs.] KCC come and say we should use these ones [the pay per use public latrines] and tell us that they will tear down our houses because we shouldn't be here and don't manage the area well, but what do they know? For them, 200 shillings is nothing! For me, it is so much! These bags are free, I can always find these bags around the market, I just pick [take] them. Or I keep them when I have chips and wash the grease in the water [of the Nakivubo]. And then when they are full [of faeces] I just throw them up [on the rooftops] or in the drainage [channel that leads to the Nakivubo channel]. It's free! That's why I like it. For pissing, it is even easier. For us men, we just go. Sometimes in bottles, especially if I am at

> home, or when I am at work, we all just go behind the building in the small alley, or go down to the big channel [the Nakivubo, which runs alongside the mechanics and car parts market where Stephen works] and go there. I know we probably shouldn't do this, it's not so nice to have the water with all this stuffs in it and it smells when it is hot, but there is not other options." (Interview with Stephen, 14 February 2011.)

Stephen illustrates a number of points that are pertinent. He, like the residents of Namuwongo, states that paying for toilets is a luxury he can ill afford. His use of plastic bags to defecate into is a convenient and much cheaper way of managing his solid bodily waste. He is not apathetic about his sanitary situation, as suggested by the KCC-PE professionals; his words are impassioned, his interview is engaging, and he talks for a long time about sanitation deficiencies in the area. Like Adam, the caddy at the UGC, he openly admits to regulating urinating and is not shy to share that he urinates in the channel or the alleyway behind work. Unlike Adam, this urination is not an act of defiance against management; indeed, Stephen states that all of his work colleagues at the mechanics urinate in the open, including his bosses. It remains, however, an act that is carried out because there are limited other options. Stephen does not pay the fees to use the public toilets near work and near his home because he cannot afford to do so

on a daily basis, and neither place has access to private facilities. The informality of his home and of his work means that the landlord is under no obligation to construct on-site, private sanitation, and although he is aware that he "probably shouldn't" urinate in the Channel, he is left with few other options. It is a mundane act brought about by necessity.

Other inhabitants of Kisenyi corroborate that their "uncivil" toileting performances are ones of everyday necessity, and not illegality or incivility. Jeanne, a mother of three and an inhabitant of Kisenyi, earns a proportion of her income from begging with Prossie and Aminah, and supplements her income from making beads for necklaces that she sells at the Friday craft market. She estimates that she rarely makes more than 30,000 Ugandan shillings [about £7.50] in a week, and spending money on toilet visits is money she can ill afford to spend. *Kaveera* offer a cheap alternative, and one that means she can contain bodily waste as best possible:

> "I make beads [for necklaces] with some other women. But it is little money. How can I give my children the shillings to go to the latrine? I tell them to go [to the toilet] at school, or they have to use *kaveera*. Me, I use *kaveera*. … This way is good because it costs little money and it keeps it [bodily waste] out of our house. We keep the house clean and sweep everyday; we use these [shows me a

> short straw broom for sweeping]. But it is also difficult [to keep things clean] because Kampala is dusty. They tell us that we can get sickness from the water. So when the dishes are washed, I tell [the children] to put them out in the sun, and this will make them not dangerous for us to use." (Interview with Jeanne, 13 January 2011.)

Jeanne is not alone; all interviewees from Kisenyi stated that they know that faeces carries disease, but it was the women who were interviewed that expressed the greatest burden of actually doing the household cleaning, despite the men stating that they threw away their own full *kaveera*. Like Stephen articulates, *kaveera* are utilised because they are a readily available, cheap, way to contain faeces.

Bosco, a community leader and Pentecostal pastor from Kisenyi, agreed with the sentiment that *kaveera* are a practical alternative to using latrines. He also stresses the difficulties that the community face in raising awareness of improved sanitation because of the precarity that informality involves. He told me that Kisenyi is his community, as well as his home, as he has lived there for over a decade and knows the inhabitants well. He sums up the community's relationship with sanitation as "very poor" because of the area's geography, and its low-income, informal status:

> "Because we are low lying, it floods a lot, especially during rainy season. There are some latrines, public ones near Owino [market], but they cost too much money for many people to use, even me sometimes. We all use *kaveera* here. It is just our lives. It is how we have to live. We have tried to get landlords to make latrines, but they have no interest in this. We have tried to talk to KCC, but they also have no interest. For them, this land is prime, and I don't think they want us to stay. So they try and make us leave by not doing anything! But I won't go. This is my home. And as for flying toilets… [he laughs] this is just us! What else can we do? It is much better than just doing it over there [in the open]. We will keep trying and get the big men to hear us, but for now, we keep on with our flying toilets." (Interview with Bosco, 28 March 2011.)

Bosco is defiant. Flying toilets offer him, and his fellow inhabitants, a way of managing their everyday toileting requirements. In the absence of landlords intervening to construct on-site latrines, and of KCC's lack of enforcement for landlords to do so, *kaveera* are a logical solution: they are cheap to buy (or free), they contain what is not wanted, and they are easy to dispose of. So, in light of these examples, can the flying toilet still be thought of as "uncivil"?

### 6.4.1 Reflections on "uncivil" toileting

It is important to spend some moments reflecting upon the flying toilet because this is emblematic of assumed "problematic" space and practice. Dominant imaginations of Kampalan slums are also explanatory of the kinds of policies that get formed around sanitation. Yet these policies seem to misinterpret the use of flying toilets and buckets and other apparently "uncivil" toileting materialities; the solutions that are prescribes are therefore often inadequate and/or do not function in the way they were intended for the community they were meant to serve.

The act of shitting into a bag, tying it up, and disposing of it is a calculated process, not an act of wonton depravity or incivility. It is, rather, an ordinary everyday act that has symbolic and ideological underpinnings (Scott, 1985). Flying toilets are an attempt to contain and manage the sight and smell of shit. As such, their use mirrors that of the flush toilet, that is, to confine bodily fluid as much as possible from sight and smell, and to expel the product from its proximity to the self. The flying toilet is a way of managing uncleanliness, limiting faecal potential as "matter out of place" (Douglas, 1966). It is a different system, but it is a system nonetheless: it is a way of maintaining sanitary order by a population that has largely been marginalised from being included in dominant conceptions of urbanity. This is not to deny the occurrence of open defecation, which

does happen in Namuwongo and Kisenyi and in other informal areas of Kampala, but this research found that the majority of participants would rather use a shared latrine or *kaveera* than defecate in public.[36] This echoes the results in another sanitation study in Kampala (Katukiza 2010), but seems contrary to much research about toileting in other urban areas, particularly those in South Asia, which suggest that open defecation is a common form of toileting in places without private access (Buttenheim, 2008; Datta, 2012; Thompson & Khan, 2003).

The colonial accounts of faecal prohibitions in Kampala can be read, as per Douglas' thesis (1966), as efforts to order matter out of place, and flying toilets are a contemporary manifestation of these taboos. The practice of defecating into a plastic bag is a way of managing what would otherwise be seen as disorderly; hence open defecation in Kampala is minimal. That the full bags are disposed of promptly and in particular places intimate particular coding practices and ordering of space. There is need for more research, however, to determine to what extent the throwing of *kaveera* is a signal of dissatisfaction and anger, as suggested by Jacob's testimony, or whether the disposal of flying toilets is less political and more pragmatic, as the majority of

[36] Of the 27 participants who identified themselves as living in an informal area of the city, 22 said they did not defecate in the open. Four people expressed that they have done so only in emergencies, and one stated that they practiced open defecation on a regular (but reluctant) basis.

participants in this study who use this toileting method suggest. However, flying toilets could, contrary to the dominant view within Kampala, be interpreted as a desire for modern urban aesthetics because the flying toilet satisfies the basic principles of modern sanitation in much the same way that the flush toilets does - shit is quickly contained and eliminated, and faecal odour is limited. Flush toilets may be the ultimate way in which to demonstrate success (Jemsby, 2008: 6), but in their absence, the inhabitants of Kampala's informal settlements have found another way to manage the sights and smells of their bodily waste.

It is important not to romanticise this practice, though. The users of flying toilets do not defecate into plastic bags because they like it, or throw them at objects and symbols of power and inequality in grand gestures of protest. Despite some users stating that they threw their full *kaveera* in particular places as deliberate and understated acts of defiance, the subtlety of their everyday usage, and of the disposal, suggests that this practice of defecation should be understood as the only option in limited circumstances. As Ayona Datta argues about open defecation in Delhi squatter settlements, this is not "a resistance against a bourgeois order, but a mundane politics of everyday survival" (Datta, 2012: 118).

The dominant interpretation of Kampala's shitscape, however, sees flying toilets as dirty, disordered, and uncivil. The limited conception

of, and lack of a willingness to understand, the logics of such toileting practices has an impact upon development projects that seek to improve sanitation infrastructures in informal areas, even upon projects that claim to be "participatory" and "local". Inhabitants of Kampala's informal areas are divested of full participation in these projects because they are assumed to lack knowledge of what they want and need. For example, the KSMP states that there is a need in low income areas of Kampala for "social marketing and hygiene promotion…in order *to encourage households to want improved sanitation facilities and to use them correctly* so that the health benefits actually materialise" (NWSC, 2004b: 35, emphasis mine). There is a conflation here between lack of toilets and a lack of toileting knowledge, and an assumption that low income households do not desire better sanitation facilities. This is, according to the KSMP, because there is an "unwillingness of households to commit more funds to this sector, due to the low priority accorded to sanitation in the household budget" (NWSC, 2004b: 15)

There is no recognition in the report that low income households, like that of Elizabeth, might not want to "commit more funds" to improving sanitation facilities because every shilling she earns is already accounted for. For Elizabeth, there is, quite simply, no expenditure to spare, regardless of how much she would like not to have to use *kaveera* and buckets for toileting. Paying for sanitation is,

therefore, most definitely accorded a low priority for Elizabeth's household for the same reason: the income of the household is required to survive. Bodily waste is managed in such a way that minimises financial commitment, but it is managed nonetheless. Flying toilets, and the use of buckets and bottles, is a best possible toileting practice in a difficult situation, and one that makes creative use out of readily available materials.

The management of excreta by plastic bags and bottles is not, however, regarded by sanitation and development experts as a good or healthy way to manage bodily waste, but dismissing these practices outright ignores the logics of their usage and risks discounting local sensibilities. This is not only a disservice to the inhabitants of informal areas, but jeopardies the success of future sanitation projects by failing to understand local responses to, and knowledges of, sanitation materials and infrastructure. The challenges presented by the misinterpretation of uncivilised toileting materialities and practices, and the subsequent constraints upon alternative infrastructures, is demonstrated in Namuwongo, where a sanitation project has been implemented and subsequently rejected by the residents. In Namuwongo, a community-led sanitation advocacy project was felt to have been "hijacked" by the involvement of an NGO and has led to a new toilet block not being used by the community.

## 6.5 Ecological sanitation in Namuwongo

In 2005, keen to try and improve sanitation services in Namuwongo, a group of residents came together to form NCBO, a community based organisation. NCBO sought to align themselves with organisations that could offer financial and practical support and, drawing on (primarily church-based) networks that its members were already part of, they managed to secure support from a UK-based charity that promotes the use of simple low-cost technological solutions to housing and sanitation problems in the global south. The charity, referred to here as Green NGO, advocates using "appropriate technologies", including eco-san toileting systems that utilise waste material, composting it so that it can be used as fertiliser. Green NGO agreed to construct two toilet blocks in addition to the two KCC-owned blocks in Namuwongo. The new NGO ones are designed to have four stands in each block. Florence, a resident of Namuwongo, describes her reaction to the news of the new toilet blocks:

> "We were so happy! We were celebrating! … But then some time passed and we seen that in fact we would be having some strange ones, not like how we are used [to] or flush ones like how some people have in the smart [areas]. This was ah! [Throws her hands up]. It was in fact because these toilets… they are not like latrines, they keep the faeces and it is then used by farming. But these people

> they came and they sensitised us about it [eco-san] and said how it is so good for places like here. So now it's this toilets we have." (Interview with Florence, 29 January 2011.)

NCBO members recall feeling elated when they heard they were going to get support from a foreign organisation. They felt this would mean greater success in managing to get the toilets constructed and hoped it would also mean financial support to keep the toilets operational in the long term. Despite not knowing about eco-san toilets beforehand, the "sensitisation" was effective in persuading the members it would be a good solution to their problem, but as NCBO-founder Freddie remarks,

> "…NCBO said to them we need toilets and this is what we now have. First, we didn't understand [the eco-san system] and [Green NGO] said it would be OK. God gave us this gift, we could not say no, even if some of us were not so happy with it." (Interview with Freddie, 28 April 2011.)

NCBO felt they were in a position where they were unable to negotiate how the toilet blocks were to be constructed; Green NGO were unequivocal about both the method of construction (using their technologies rather than local brick-making methods) and the type of

toilets that were to be built. The reasons for this, according to Green NGO, were to encourage sustainability and limit deforestation, as local brick-making practices require considerable amounts of wood. Participants, however, felt this was an imposition of foreignness that ignored Namuwongo residents' tradition and expertise. There was also a deep sense of unfairness about the type of toilets on offer in Namuwongo. Participants described the eco-san toilets suspiciously, and as an inferior system of toileting. The act of constructing new toilets that are not flushing ones was seen as a snub, and furthered the participants' sense of marginalisation.

Furthermore, once constructed, the eco-san toilets caused considerable consternation because of the way in which they store and use faeces, and have become a focal point of residents' worries about being cursed. An eco-san toilet requires the separation of urine from faeces in order that the liquids and solids can be composted and subsequently used or sold as fertilizer; this, however, contravenes a belief held by participants' that the handling of faeces should be limited, and once it is stored that it should remain in place. Contravention of this could lead to the faeces being used for cursing by the "night witches". These beliefs limit the number of people that are using the eco-san toilets, and restrict the number of times that people who do use them visit to defecate. Freddie describes how the relationship between taboos and the toilets manifests itself:

> "The night dancers, here, the night witches, have you heard about them? Maybe I should call them wizards, you would understand this I think. They dance around naked and they use faeces to put it on people's doors and it can mean a curse… these are some of the things people attach to the eco-san so how can you use eco-san?" (Interview with Freddie, 28 April 2011.)

The shit that is deposited into the eco-san toilets is thus viewed as suspicious, as are the people that use them. Faecal mysticism renders shit powerful, and it is never seen as making the transition to fertilizer. Geoffrey, a Namuwongo resident who also expressed deep misgivings about the eco-san toilets, said that he "will not put faeces in it". Further, he stated that he "will not use eco-san faeces to put on the land" as "what grows, it can be cursed" (interview with Geoffrey, 3 May 2011). Contemporary fears about the eco-san toilets are, however, not limited to curses by the night witches. Rose, a young woman who has lived in Namuwongo for two years, says using the eco-san toilets will cause her to become infertile. Rose believes that many women have similar concerns, and will continue to use *kaveera* and buckets to defecate in (interview with Rose, 3 May 2011).

NCBO members say they explained the existence of such taboos and fears to their donor. Green NGO, however, reassured the group that they would carry out community-wide sensitisation in order to

assuage fears about how the faeces and urine is used. NCBO maintain that with the exception of their specific training, no other community education took place. Green NGO also encouraged NCBO to attempt to sell the fertiliser outside of the immediate area, to find markets elsewhere; NCBO, however, say that the high cost of fuel makes it impossible for them to travel to sell the fertiliser far from Namuwongo.

The fear and distrust of eco-san toilets means that they are not being utilised by as many people as NCBO wished; moreover, the lack of success at selling the fertiliser has stunted the economic sustainability of the two new toilet blocks, prompting NCBO to charge money to cover the costs of maintenance. The eco-san toilets now cost one hundred shillings per use, with children under twelve years old exempt from payment. The overwhelming response from participants was that the eco-san toilets might look more impressive than the KCC ones, and may be cleaner too, but they are too strongly associated with taboo to be used in the manner Green NGO had assumed they would be. Florence, one of the founding members of NCBO, is stoic but angry at what she sees as a further example of injustice. Reflecting on NCBO's first experience of working with an NGO partner, she states:

> "It is true that some [toilets] are better than having what, what we did. But we don't have the… It is too hard for us to get the help to write these reports [for funding]. We are

> not Big Men. So [to have] these people [Green NGO] with us, it makes it so we can do something… But I think, these people, they don't listen, they don't really listen to us, they just think we are poor and we will take whatever, live like whatever. And so we have these things that are not how we want." (Interview with Florence, 28 January 2011.)

Florence is frustrated by what she sees as the conditionality of sanitation assistance that is premised upon principles about urban sustainability that fail either to take into account, or to take seriously, the fears and taboos of the community the excreta-management system is meant to benefit (Jewitt, 2011). In Namuwongo, informality and poverty gives license to the imposition of ideas and projects by those in positions of power: the informality of the residents' homes means that KCC will not provide public toilets; landlords feel they can legitimately ignore planning standards and residents' requests for sanitation; and the slum-status of Namuwongo legitimises the NGO's toileting diagnosis and intervention. The cumulative effect reinforces Namuwongo as a space that is an anti-modern space that does not belong in the future of Kampala.

## 6.6 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to show alternative, multiple, ways of interpreting defecatory practices and materialities that are interpreted

as "uncivilised" in the dominant imagination of the city. Whereas the previous chapter highlights the extent to which colonial epistemology is embedded and internalised by Kampala's contemporary inhabitants and experts, this chapter reveals different, marginalised, readings of the shitscape. There are three key points that this chapter unveiled, and these are discussed below.

The first point is to do with how defecation can be politicised. I began the chapter by returning to the Uganda Golf Club, and discussing Adam's toiletry act of defiance. It is significant here that he chose to urinate and not defecate. This is demonstrative, I argued, of the greater symbolic power of faeces. For this reason, understanding why people throw their faecal matter into the Nakivubo Channel is all the more important, because it can easily be interpreted as an act of anger and insubordination. The examples that followed, of Aminah and Annette sitting outside Garden City mall, and Elizabeth and Jeremiah and Bosco living in Namuwongo, told of daily toileting practices that were not vitriolic or uncivilised but just necessary.

Informal and "uncivil" toileting practices are often characterised as disordered, immoral, and anti-modern (as explored in Chapter 5); they may also be characterised within subaltern studies as highly politicised acts that are "a refusal to become citizens of an ideal, bourgeois order" (Chakrabarty, 2002: 77). My research in Kampala suggests, however, that both of these interpretations are incorrect. Inhabitants along the

Nakivubo utilised a variety of "uncivil" toileting methods not to reject idealised urban sanitation – far from it, as many informal inhabitants expressed desire and aspiration for flush toileting and private on-site sanitation. Defecatory practices such as the flying toilet were not described or enacted by participants in particularly political ways, either; in cases where participants did link sanitation to civic rights, there was little inkling of collective political action. These toileting methods were used simply to get by in situations where few other sanitary options exist.

The second point that the chapter addresses concerns the affective embodiment of sanitary anxieties. Imagined hierarchies of sanitary, ordered space are reflected on the bodies of the city's inhabitants, and participants described how transgressing these boundaries of positionality can produce powerfully felt apprehension and fear. In discussing Garden City mall, Aminah and Annette demonstrate self-policing in not going in to the shopping centre, with the exception of one particular day. The imagination of what the mall is, what it means, and who it can admit, is produced by social and political dynamics that serve to exclude. The social space of the mall, and of Kololo, permits certain actions and actors, and excludes others, on the basis of privilege, class, gender, race, and citizenship boundaries.

There is a considerable body of literature that considers the post-colonial shopping mall as a semi-public space of control (Abaza, 2001;

Erkip, 2005; Varman & Belk, 2012). The spatial practices of shopping malls materially and discursively exclude certain people and activities, and create particular notions of civility based upon definitions of who is an appropriate entrant. These studies do not, by and large, consider the emotive and physically felt impact of non-admittance, however. My research suggests that the affective and embodied consequences of non-admittance to such spaces (re)produces vulnerability within the city. This vulnerability is gendered, as exclusion and limited sanitary options affect female bodies more acutely than male (also see Datta, 2012; Morna, 2000).

Finally, the third conclusion from this chapter is about the implications for sanitary infrastructure, and how it is understood, interpreted, and implemented. The eco-san project in Namuwongo suggests that solutions to a lack of sanitation infrastructure in informal areas cannot simply be solved through innovative technologies alone. The material aspirations of the people development projects seek to serve must be taken into account, as must already existing knowledges about sanitation, health, and order.

A superficial glance at the everyday materialities of Kampala's informal and "uncivil" shitscape suggests different imaginaries to those desired by urban planners and their infrastructural projects; yet, as this chapter seeks to illustrate, an interpretation of uncivil toileting as a defilement of urbanity is a profound mistake. That flying toilets

do not make faeces completely invisible to the senses ignores the logics of this kind of toileting. This does not need to be read as a negative, as a sign of disorder; rather, the everyday toileting actions and tactics within the informal city are indicative of flexibility, potential, and aspiration, and demonstrates an urban space that is ripe with alternative sanitary modernities. "The messed-up city, then, is not simply a mess. In the very lack of things seeming settled, people keep open the possibility that something more palatable to their sense of themselves might actually be possible" (Simone, 2010: 261). This is not to exalt informal subjectivities, and is cognisant of the dangers of fetishising subaltern experiences as heroic in oppositional adversity (see Mohanty, 1984). Yet, the dominant imagination of what urban sanitation infrastructure should be, coupled with slum ontologies, closes down space for perceiving uncivil toileting practices and materialities as, at best, deviant, and more often as abhorrent. There is, then, palpable impetus for the city's sanitation infrastructure to emulate sanitary regimes that seek to limit, or if possible, eliminate the ocular, olfactory, and tactical encounters with shit. I consider the implications of this research, and some alternatives for planning sanitation in informal areas, in the concluding chapter.

# 7 Conclusion

*If I take you around Kampala every day, maybe I will have enough money to make a big house for my family in some time. I will make a HUGE bathroom. You can come and see. The Monitor [newspaper] will come and take photos of it. It will be like [rapper] Bebe Cool's, so nice! (Interview with Edgard, my boda boda driver, 29 March 2011.)*

## 7.1 Introduction

This thesis has examined Kampala's relationship to bodily waste in an urban context that has very different sanitary infrastructures embedded within it. My research has shown that the spatial histories of colonial infrastructural development continue to have an impact upon access to toileting materialities in the contemporary city. Moreover, as Chapter 5 discussed, in spaces where there is an absence of infrastructure, the practices that Kampala's inhabitants are using to manage their bodily waste are imagined not just as informal, but also as being unsanitary, uncivil, and dirty. This dominant interpretation of what suitable urban toileting practices and materialities should be marginalises both space and inhabitants. This research found that inhabitants of informal areas who utilised informal toileting methods exploited any available materials to store and get rid of their defecation as best possible in very constrained financial circumstances. Seen from this angle, the flying toilet and other informal toileting practices are not uncivil and disordered practices. Instead, they are

necessary and tactical measures to deal with defecatory waste in ways that mitigate the use of expensive public toilets in the absence of free-to-use conveniences. Participants from across the city, however, and regardless of toileting practices, have a strong adherence to the views that echo the modernist visions of a city in which both the shitscape, and those visibly contributing to its uncivilised appearance, are excluded through both personal and social governance.

This closing chapter commences by reviewing the thesis and its central theoretical and empirical contours. I reflect upon the data presented in Chapters 4, 5, and 6, and discuss this empirical research in conversation with academic debates concerning urban African contexts. I consider the contribution that my research makes to the literature on urbanity, sanitation, and infrastructure, and briefly discuss the implications for Kampala's infrastructural future in light of the shift from KCC to current incarnation as Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA).

## 7.2 Reviewing the thesis

Chapter 1 initiated the reader to the concept of the shitscape. I argued for defecation and the product of this particular act of bodily waste expulsion as an important mode of analysis precisely because of the highly charged and emotive responses that are provoked by faeces. Shit, I contended, evokes a much more affecting reaction than urine, blood, snot, or tears. And for temporal, gendered, and social reasons,

this specific bodily waste was placed at the axis of the research; it is the pivot-point that simultaneously unites all bodies and yet reveals real, and embodied, differences and inequalities. Furthermore, I suggest that these differences are innately spatial, both filling space and creating it, and that characteristics of defecating can be examined across the history and spaces of Kampala.

The second chapter developed the discussion of bodily waste and dirt, and brought this into conversation with concepts and imaginations of African urbanity and modernity. To do so, the chapter engaged with the "geographical imagination", and discussed this in relation to knowledge of Africa as a concept (c.f. Mbembé, 2001). This discussion evolved into an elaboration upon urbanity and othering, and argued that interpretations of dirt and unsanitary toileting behaviours are an important mechanism through which abjection is created and sustained. I discussed the pre-colonial and colonial spatial organisation of what is now Kampala, and considered an array of literatures that grapple with post-colonial urbanity and urban infrastructures. I described the intentional divisions between the *kibuga* at Mengo Hill and the gazetted Township that was the urbanised space of the colonial authorities. The planned areas under the colonial authorities remain the most privileged and best-serviced spaces within the contemporary city.

Feminist and postcolonial methodologies, as well research methods, were the focus of Chapter 3. The intention here was to examine these corpora of works, and the methods that they inform, to understand how they have influenced my research of, and in, Kampala. Scholars that engage in such theoretical veins help to explicate the power of colonial ordering and knowledge of urbanity. Researchers such as Datta (2012), Simone (2004), and Watson (2009a) demonstrate multiple ways of knowing and interpreting post-colonial city place and space that are *contra* the colonial epistemologies that continue to be influential in contemporary imagined geographies (Gregory, 1992). Both feminist and postcolonial theories expound upon Said's (2003) construction of "the Other" and "the Orient" by insisting upon the multiple, and shifting, terrain of positionality. This assertion of fluidity allows room for interpretations of people, place, and space that may be different from the dominant readings. Feminist and postcolonial theorists also pay recognition to the situational and contextual nature of knowledges and of the ontologies of knowledge production (see, for example, Rose, 1997).

It was established that this methodological approach resists the assumed, or dominant, labels of places and bodies within the cityspace. I was therefore very reluctant to pick particular field sites according to their status as slum, for example. Instead, I chose to follow a transect of the city and used the Nakivubo Channel as an

attendant to guide me through Kampala. In addition to being a path to chart my research through the city, the Nakivubo Channel plays an integral part in Kampala's management of its bodily waste.

Drawing upon eight months of observational fieldwork, 79 in-depth interviews, archival research, and techniques such as participant mapping and ethnographic encounters in the city that were described in detail in Chapter 3, I examined Kampala's shitscape along this transect, through some of the most privileged and marginalised parts of the city. This empirical research was presented in Chapters 4, 5, and 6. These three chapters dealt with specific aspects of the city's sanitary space, beginning with an historical look at Kampala's city planning. This background material of the history and politics of Uganda and its capital city reveals the impact of the past in shaping contemporary inequalities in infrastructure provision. Archival materials describe how it was imperative for the colonials to maintain what they imaged was a safe enough distance from the uncivilised and unsanitary natives. This spatial division, symbolised by the cordon sanitaire, initiated a pattern of planned and unplanned sanitary infrastructure in the city that is still recognisable in today's city. I argued that the absence of planned toileting infrastructures has been, and continues to be, an important mode through which abjection is produced and maintained in Kampala. The contemporary municipal authorities' approach to planning and instigating a new sewage treatment plant in

the city, and the colonial imaginations of unplanned cityspace, remain evident in the KSMP. The chapter ultimately aims to show how normalised understandings of what good sanitation materials and infrastructures are by urban planners, and how the racial driving forces of colonial urban planning still inform responses to (un)sanitary spaces and practices that are regarded as problematic.

Normalised interpretations of urban cleanliness and appropriate toileting practices were developed throughout Chapter 5, where I explain the idealised sanitary space in Kampala. The participant mapping illustrated the presence of the shitscape in the imaginary of the city by its residents. These associations were clearly linked to the more globally defined imaginations of good and moral toileting that were described in Chapter 2. The distinctly spatialised nature of Kampala's privileged sanitary ordering is evident from the empirical material here; the data from the participant mapping and interviews show how spaces of material sanitary infrastructural presence or absence affect perceptions of desirability and disgust.

Research participants depicted the flush toilet as the most desired receptacle of their bodily waste. Its privacy, ability to limit smell, disconnectedness from bodily waste, and necessary connectedness to other forms of infrastructure marked this form of sanitary hardware as modern, hygienic, and aspirational. To have a flush toilet of one's own is symbolic of wealth, achievement, and urbanity. Conversely, the use

of other forms of toileting, such as latrines and flying toilets, are emblematic of poverty and provinciality. The research also showed the extent to which these sanitary imaginations are internalised through the daily working performances of KCC community health workers and sanitary engineers, but are also internalised by inhabitants of the city who are not technical sanitary experts. The relegation of particular toileting methods as disgusting, uncivil, and dirty crosses class distinctions, and are perceived as sub-standard practices by the participants who have to use these methods on an everyday basis. This results in a situation where, historically, places within the city that have not been connected to formal sanitary infrastructure are the very areas of the contemporary city where inhabitants have to rely upon informal toileting methods to manage their excreta. This in turn justifies the marginalisation of these inhabitants; assumptions of incivility, dirt, and disorder further ostracises slum residents from city life, and become part of a broader narrative of slum settlements and their inhabitants as not only illegal, but also undesirable and out of place in a modern, civilised city.

Despite the internalisation of such negative imaginaries of informal toileting and the people that use such methods and materials, Chapter 6 offered more hopeful interpretations of informal toileting. Here, amongst others, we met Aminah and Annette. These stories about living and working in Kampala and what participants felt like about

their toileting encounters reveal the importance of having knowledge of the city and of its time-space rhythms for those who do not have access to formal and connected toileting. The women's stories are largely about repressing bodily need, to the point of pain, but their knowledge also enables them to transgress boundaries at particular, opportune, times. They can access the toilets of Garden City mall at specific times such as Christmas that at most other times during the year they otherwise feel impotent to do so. This is not only exciting for Aminah and Annette, but presents itself as a prospect; being able to use sanitary hardware that they view as modern and urbane not only lets them imagine themselves as that, too, but *be* modern and urbane. Their visit to these flush toilets allows Aminah and Annette to realise an aspiration, if only for a moment.

These instances counter the dominant imaginary of slum residents as incompetent, dirty, and uncivil. Such stories, which illustrate proficiency in a sanitary medium that are recognisable as the "best" way to manage bodily waste, also allow space for reconsidering the dominant interpretation of informal toileting practices as ignorant, uncivil, and unsanitary. The inhabitants of Namuwongo and Kisenyi, who are so often dismissed as somehow septic, utilise materials for managing their bodily waste in ways that are absolutely not ignorant and or unsanitary. This interpretation of informal toileting renders defunct the dominant interpretation of the shitscape. The research

demonstrates material and embodied toileting knowledges that use the same sanitary logics of the dominant imaginary of urban proficiency. And this allows room for a different interpretation of other practices that are regularly dismissed as terrible precisely because it shows competence in a way that is most familiar to the epistemologies of sanitary best practice.

Thus, Chapter 6 demonstrates that material practices such as the flying toilet, which are used by inhabitants such as Aminah on a regular basis, are effective toileting solutions to restricted circumstances. Informal toileting methods and materials are used to actively manage bodily waste in contexts where resources are extremely limited. The flying toilet is shown to be an everyday example of the direct and engaged administration of one's own faeces. It is a method that is utilised out of necessity, not ignorance. The use of *kaveera* to deposit and contain and eliminate defecation from the body and its immediate environs exhibits the same principles as the flush toilet in that both methods and materials seek to limit the smell of faeces, facilitate its purge from the body, and provide a way of getting rid of it once it has been expelled from the bowels.

Finally, the chapter questioned the use and implementation of technologies such as eco-san toilets. My reticence regarding material sanitary infrastructures such as the ecological toilet was borne out of the context in Namuwongo, where inhabitants rejected this new

technology for a variety of different reasons. This research revealed that assumptions of long forgotten faecal taboos are still affective and limit the extent to which inhabitants of the area want to use the latrines and utilise the intended end product, the fertiliser. The research also called into question the ways in which community participation is articulated and exacted by NGOs. The participants expressed disappointment in the NGO they were working with and felt that the NGO held a notion that the inhabitants' poverty, and associated infrastructural absence, would equate to satisfaction with whatever kind of sanitary hardware that was constructed. That this research was conducted in a city raises different sets of questions about participation in developing toileting infrastructures from those raised in many NGO studies, exemplified in the IIED's report on "Tales of shit: community-led total sanitation in Africa" (2010). This report describes ways of encouraging community participation in sanitation-focused development projects that aim to limit and/or deter open defecation (referred to as Community Led Total Sanitation, or CLTS). The report goes to some length in detailing community participatory methods and describes many different toileting materials that can be used as alternatives to open defecation. The IIED's report, however, focuses on rural settings and admits:

> "there are many additional factors to consider with urban sanitation, including physical issues such as space and the

> emptying of latrines, legal questions around tenancy and informal settlements, as well as social questions around community cohesion" (IIED, 2010: 47)

My research in Kampala is demonstrative of these urban dynamics, and the difficulties therein, and suggests that developers and planners might consider urban planning and sanitation infrastructure in a different light. To this end, my closing observations contemplate three specific things to take in to account when in planning cities of the global south.

## 7.3 Concluding remarks on planning sanitary urban space

My thesis has traced a path along the Nakivubo Channel to reflect upon the ways in which bodily faecal expulsions are materialised and managed through the city. My research has made the spatial dynamics of the different sanitary infrastructures explicit, and has made it clear that methods and materials that are often dismissed as dirty and uncivilised are in fact ways of managing bodily waste as best possible in the given context. These findings have tangible implications for the ways in which the city manages its bodily waste and plans the city's future. The prospects of Kampala's abject inhabitants becoming more integrated into the city's sanitary plans remain precarious as long as the assumptions about their bodies as dirt persist. Here I reflect upon some points that I feel are important when considering the implications of this thesis on the broader landscape of urbanism and

sanitation, and then briefly contemplate upon ways in which this potentially more inclusive vision of urbanity could be realised.

### 7.3.1 KCC's change to KCCA

During my fieldwork, Kampala's municipal authorities were brought under the control of central government, bucking country's trend of decentralisation (Goodfellow, 2010). This dynamic between central and municipal authorities has been having a very real influence in the daily running of the city during 2013, as the new municipal authority, KCCA, seeks both to distance itself from its incarnation as KCC and to align itself more fully with the ruling NRM government. This has resulted in a protracted legal dispute between the Lord Mayor, Erias Lukwago, who is aligned to oppositional party the Democratic Party, and the NRM appointed Executive Director of KCCA, Jennifer Musisi (Bwambale, 2013; Nalugo, 2013). The ruling NRM government has largely concentrated its efforts on rural Uganda to consolidate its client-patronage relationships since President Museveni came to power in 1986. However, over the past decade or so, processes of urban political bargaining have become increasingly important to the ruling elite, to the extent that Kampala now falls under the direct jurisdiction of central government (Onyango-Obbo, 2013) .

Contrary to Goodfellow's positivity towards this institutional shift (Goodfellow, 2010: 20), recent commentary suggests that the fallout

from the Mayorial contest against KCCA has hampered planned projects in the city over the past two years as the NRM government seeks to exert its influence in the everyday running of the capital city (Onyango-Obbo, 2013; Tabaire, 2013).[37] This indicates that Kampala's history of unfulfilled and partial sanitary planning is set to continue, deepening the abjection of informal areas of the city (see Naggaga, 2013). The city's history of ineffective urban planning for all but the elite looks to be sustained, certainly during this period of governing instability. As shown in this thesis, such infrastructural disparities are facilitated by the city's historical patterns of spatial inequality and informality, and these dynamics may expedite the bargaining power of political actors to access resources in the city. I hope also to have shown, however, that the contemplation of, and engagement with, narratives of intimate contextual specificity can add nuance to debates that exist at larger, institutional scales such as those mentioned above, and discussed in detail in Chapter 5. It is worth reiterating the importance of the bodily story telling that Chapters 5 and 6 revealed, as these "small stories" (Lorimer, 2003) of toileting simultaneously confirm and problematise dynamics that exist within broader processes of urbanity. One aspect that I have not discussed in the

[37] Indeed, the Director of Physical Planning at KCCA was arrested in early 2012 in a highly published eviction that sought to show the new authority's power to demolish illegal settlements, but resulted in the tragic death of one person and the injury of five others. George Agaba, the Director of Physical Planning, has since been released, reinstated to his post, and then fired again, this time in November 2013 for bribery.

thesis, however, is urban sustainability and the "green" agenda, something is becoming increasingly important to debates about the future of Kampala. Accordingly, I briefly address this below.

### 7.3.2 Greening Kampala

My research has provided concrete examples of how bodily waste and ideas about dirt are imagined in spaces throughout the city, rather than focusing on questions of urban sustainability. I want to conclude with some thoughts that build a bridge to discussions of urban greening and sustainability, for although they did not form a central line of enquiry in my own doctoral research, they are some of the ways in which sanitary waste is being framed in contemporary Kampala. Interpretations of particular toileting practices as dirty and infectious give weight to arguments about Kampala's current state of being as unsustainable and damaging to the environment. As detailed in my research, these imaginations can give rise to requirements for development, and in a similar manner these imaginations can also provoke interventionism that is focussed upon greening the city (Wang, Wang, Toure, & Li, 2012).

Yet in order to do justice to this complex, and contested, arena of urban development would be to embark on a radically different project that the one presented here. Indeed, in light of my research, I believe that my focus upon bodily stories across the city is required in

order to think through discourses of urban environmental sustainability. Black and Fawcett (2008) point out that a lofty global ambition to provide "sanitation for all" requires cheaper *and* more sustainable toileting infrastructure, but in order for these aims to be achieved, there requires the "developing [of] a better understanding of existing hygiene habits" (Black & Fawcett, 2008: 9). The present research counters Black and Fawcett's claim that "communities that will never be able to have sewers…appear up to now to have expressed little enthusiasm for the installation of toileting of any kind" (Black & Fawcett, 2008: 9), and also shows the interconnectedness of the city's defecatory flow. This frustrates the idea that the "quality of the urban environment is being degraded due to proliferation of informal settlements and slums" (GoU, 2010: 172). Polluting that may be caused by informal toileting methods must be looked at as a product of circumstance, rather than any wilful or conscientious incivility and/or illegality. Moreover, the dumping of waste in the Nakivubo from septic tanks that manage the bodily waste of affluent members of Kampala points to the inherent fallibility of pointing the finger of blame at the city's informal inhabitants.

The proximity of Kampala to Lake Victoria, the importance of the Nakivubo Channel within the city's wetlands, and the fundamental part that faecal matter plays in water quality, means that urban environmental sustainability is a key focal point in the debates about

Kampala's growth (UN-Habitat, 2010a). This has led the recently formed KCCA to promote the beautification and greening of the city (Omurungi, 2012), in conjunction with attempts to purge the city of informal traders and settlements that are justified by their illegality (Kiyaga & Ssenkabirwa, 2011; NTV, 2012). Dirt, and the pollution of valuable environmental assets, here becomes articulated as a reason to validate the removal of the urban poor. Studies in Indian cities have shown similar rhetoric to justify urban development (Arabindoo, 2011; Beazley, 2011; Ellis, 2011). Ellis argues that debates about urban sustainability and the greening of Indian cities have become "divested of its social connotations in favour of a technocratic set of solutions that make particularly middle-class forms of environmentalism and economic growth compatible"(Ellis, 2011: 204). This results in the depoliticisation of sustainability and the voiding of arguments about social justice. Similar to Kampala's spatialisation of informality, dirt, and contamination, in Chennai "the territorial claims of encroachers are seen as illegitimate and antithetical to environmental sustainability because of their inappropriate, polluting relationship with the environment" (Ellis, 2011: 204).

My research has highlighted the extent to which conclusions about the "good" and "bad" actors are easily made and long held in Kampala's shitscape. I have followed Stoler's methodology that urges research to question assumed categories, and that to only tell the stories of the

marginalised has the potential to romanticise and to be analytically politically flat (Stoler, 2009). I hope to have troubled the imaginaries of the city as a polarised entity, and gone beyond binaries that paint a picture of bad inhabitants creating pollution and the good actors seeking to clean up the mess, or blameless inhabitants being pushed aside by the influential people and institutions. The stories told in this thesis demonstrate the complexity of the everyday management of bodily waste and attempts that are made to manage it. They also tell of the difficulties of planning a city, and convey the affective consequences that the infrastructural palimpsest of the colonial city still has. If this research has done anything, it has consistently sought to show the impact of urban histories and has complicated the dominant interpretation of Kampalan space. And so how to go beyond this? What becomes of the stories and the fieldwork beyond the realms of academia? What does this mean for the future of Kampala? I conclude the thesis with some thoughts on post-fieldwork, planning, and the ways in which "off grid" infrastructures may assist in re-thinking how cities are planned and developed, and end by bringing these ideas into conversation with the theoretical contributions of the thesis.

### 7.3.3 Beyond fieldwork

I have always been very conscious of a desire to be sensitive, and give adequate voice, to the participants of this research. Hopefully, this is

evident to the reader of this thesis, and to readers of any academic papers that may come of the research in the future. But beyond the pages of academic texts, how does this work contribute to, and potentially influence, sanitation planning in Kampala? Returning from the field, and in the all-consuming stages of the writing up period, looking any further beyond this was – quite frankly – beyond the scope of what I could do. This is, in part, because of the emotional impact of returning from the field that I have written about in Chapter 3, but it is also because of the way in which the doctoral process is structured. The primary goal here is to complete and submit a thesis, and all energies must be focused on fulfilling this. All too frequently, there is too little room, time, or finances to support any devotion to (the admittedly much-contested idea of) research "impact", particularly that which is outwith the production of academic papers.

I was particularly fortunate, then, to return to Kampala in the year following my fieldwork on a different project. Being back in the city allowed me to do two things that I do not think I would have been able to do otherwise: (i) write with confidence in my ethnographical notes which, when read radically out of context in Edinburgh, seemed to lose a sense of authenticity; and (ii) revisit some of the groups of people I worked with during the fieldwork, and carry out a series of workshops to discuss my research findings. These workshops were very informal, and largely followed the same format:

- An introduction to my research and where I conducted it
- My interpretation of the main players in Kampala's sanitary planning, development, and implementation
- What the key problems are (an overall lack of sanitation infrastructure, formal development limited to particular areas, reluctance for KCC/ WATSAN operatives to engage with certain areas of the city and "types" of people, and the assumptions therein)
- Examples of what happens when assumptions are not challenged, focussing on the ECOSAN example and descriptions of ethnographic material from marginalised areas
- A discussion of how research that is grounded in the reality of "on the ground", lived experiences can help challenge these assumptions
- A discussion of how research conducted in this way could influence sanitation developments in the conception phase, and the implications for monitoring and evaluation if this also incorporates ethnographic methods
- Question and answer session

On the whole, these workshops were well received, and I had positive comments and feedback from participants. The biggest difficulty that

participants could see, however, was that this kind of research is time-intensive, and development projects are often not structured to incorporate work that ideally needs an extended period of time to conduct and then analyse. This type of comment came from very small CBOs, who usually worked in localised settings with a limited budget, and from much larger and complex organisations who expressed that the intricate subtleties of ethnographic research was not necessarily what they looked for; rather, they expressed desires for ways of collecting and analysing data on a large scale that allows for simplification of implementation and evaluation. Yet when discussing my work on the ECOSAN toilets, workshop participants were fascinated to hear of the myriad reasons why such sanitary infrastructure was not being used in the way it was intended. General awareness of cultural sensitivities that my research brought to light was very low, or known about but dismissed as "up country" rural behaviours that would not be transplanted to the urban sphere. The workshops certainly allowed me to continue the relationships with organisations I had worked with during the fieldwork process, but also allowed me to voice my opinions and research findings on sanitation in Kampala, and were very much appreciated by the organisations that I met with.

In addition, KCC-PE used some of my research and dissemination from the workshop as part of their project evaluation when they

concluded their work in Kampala. They were especially interested to hear about the prejudices that existed within their own staff, and there was a suggestion that future projects would need to build in periods of staff consultancy and/or reflexivity to help raise awareness of any issues at a much earlier stage. In their feedback to KCC, the KCC-PE team told me informally that they had made recommendations that KCC needs to better integrate their planning and development across the city with already existing local and foreign organisations operating in WATSAN. Shared knowledge and resources is so important to improving urban life for as many people as possible, regardless of the level of income. Thus, although KCC-PE were not particularly painted in a flattering light within this thesis, it seems as if my analysis was not received badly; on the contrary, it has been fed back to the upper echelons of planning and urban development with the city council.

Overall, in terms of "impact", this research project highlights the importance of ethnographic, "on the ground" material. Without this, hearing the voices of people living in informal settlements is very difficult – the multiplicity of views are all too easily washed over, assumed to be known, or simply not worth hearing. As in the example of the ECOSAN toilets, methods such as those used for this research help illuminate and assess impact of sanitary developments. The ECOSAN project could so easily be written as a "success" story, in that new toilets were built in an area of great need. It is easy to present the

numbers of how many people live in an area, and essentially how many bums per toilet that equates to; the construction of new toileting infrastructures can quickly yield a positive return when measured in such terms. Yet ethnographic research and evaluation allows for a depth of analysis that other methods ignore. Such methods can also help to understand attitudes and practices that may challenge the prevailing assumptions, and can help contribute towards analysing the effectiveness of projects. This need not be post-project (and thereby potentially lead to labelling a project as "successful" or "a failure") but can also be built into sanitary infrastructure's design, planning, *and* implementation. Such context sensitivities help built rapport and build relationships, and this can only, I feel, be a good thing for urban planning. I end the thesis with some further thoughts on how urban planning can be thought of differently.

### 7.3.4 Planning "off grid"?

As of 2002, the international community has redressed its focus upon water and has included sanitation in its Millennium Development Goals.[38] The aim was to improve sanitation infrastructures and access by 2015. That is just over one year away at the time of writing, and shy of instituting a mass construction programme of latrines in Kampala,

[38] Millennium Development Goal Number 7 is about ensuring environmental sustainability, and includes an ambition "to halve, by 2015, the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation" (UN, 2013: 1).

Uganda's capital city will not accomplish this reform. Nor will it come close anytime after the due date, particularly if the KCCA/Mayoral disputes continue to impair development projects. However, even if huge amounts of financial and material resources were put forward for such a scheme, this research suggests that implementing pre-planned toileting schemes, such as the eco-san latrines in Namuwongo, are unlikely to be used as intended because of a misalignment of sanitary strategies and aspirations between planners and patrons.

So what is the aim of planning cities? The Executive Director of the UN-Habitat, Anna Tibaijuka, asked a panel of town planners,

> "How often do we witness the informal commercial sector, a major economic lifeline for slum dwellers, either ignored or abolished by rehabilitation or beautification plans? The "Planned City" often requires that the poor should at best be hidden or, at worst, swept away." (Tibaijuka, 2007: 4)

Tibaijuka asked that planners think beyond cities as developed/developing, and instead approach planning from a perspective that was cognisant of the powerful role planners can play in creating more equitable cities. Tibaijuka questioned the tools and methods of planning, which she called "often costly, unimplementable and unresponsive master plans" (Tibaijuka, 2007: 6). Vanessa Watson

responded to Tibaijuka's appeal, and discussed how planners might operationalise a different way of seeing, knowing, and planning cities in the global south (Watson, 2009a).Watson argues that universalist planning perspectives are grounded in particularly modernist visions of "normal" and "proper" cities. This, she says, is problematic for a number of reasons, not least of all because "it fails to accommodate the way of life of the majority of inhabitants"(Watson, 2009a: 175). Watson's suggestions include planning for urban spaces in such a way that takes regulative change (land tenure, for example) in conjunction with the usual planning directives, and recommends that such a hybrid approach could alleviate further urban inequalities and abjection.

My Kampalan research supports this, but perhaps shifts the focus to the already existing – and functioning – material practices that operate within urban space. In other words, planning cities should start from what is already there, and what is already effective. I suggest that planning should think about what materials already exist, rather than assume what does not work. This would avoid the pitfalls of implementing strategies that essentially implant plans from elsewhere as a way to remedy presumed urban dysfunction. In addition, planning urban spaces could be partial and incremental, rather than of the master plan variety.

Examples of such methods are encapsulated in "off grid" technologies that are more often associated with remote, rural power infrastructures (Brent & Rogers, 2010; Jacobson, 2007). These technologies frequently involve a renegotiation of land rights, and the subsequent innovation of on-site, sustainable, power infrastructures such as wind turbines and solar technology (Azoumah, Yamegueu, Ginies, Coulibaly, & Girard, 2011; Cross, 2013). This enables the local community to have access to resources, and to manage the infrastructure in a mutually beneficial way. The architect Julia King has taken this principal and applied it to sanitation in Delhi (King, 2013). Her concept is to decentralise sanitation systems and to work with informal communities to ensure that their aspirations are met as best as possible within a limited resource environment. King's pilot in the resettlement area of Savda Gherva in Delhi involves the retrofitting of toilets inside already existing homes. The toilets are designed to take up a very small footprint, and participants felt that having an indoor toilet was a mark of dignity and importance and was the method that was most likely to eradicate open defecation. King designed the toilets so that each household lavatory could each connect up to a centrally located, and locally managed, reed bed septic tank that could contain the waste of a number of households and reuse the water for flushing. The system is designed to be an incremental sanitation structure, so that as households become populated or can afford to build a toilet indoors,

they too can be connected up to the septic tank. King's (2013) work is only in its preliminary stages, and Watson's (2009a) concerns about land tenure are certainly problematic in my Kampalan case studies, but the incremental and retrofitting aspects offer something novel to sanitation infrastructures. Off grid methods are perhaps, then, one way to promote, and more importantly, to realise, a more inclusive vision of urbanity. The final section considers how can this be brought into dialogue with the shitscape.

## 7.4 Concluding remarks on the shitscape

The analysis of Kampala in terms of its defecatory assemblage, or shitscape, has enabled this project to look beyond the city as a space of operationalised and lived duality. This is particularly important for African cities, the dynamics of which largely remain obscured because the continent "remains as an after thought…the global allegory for failed modernisation" (Pieterse, 2011: 6). The thesis sought to resist simplistic readings of urban sanitation as failed or in need of management and development. Instead, the research engaged with the daily routines and practices of toileting to try and understand how (sanitary) inequalities in the city are produced, sustained, and imagined (c.f. Lefebvre, 1991b).

The conceptualisation of the shitscape allows for multiple readings of city life to be made evident in two key ways. First, the concept proved to be particularly illuminating as its methodological approach

involved following a transect and uncovering the different toileting methods and materials along it. Thus, informal sanitary practices such as the flying toilet were placed in conversation with other apparently "civil" material practices such as flush toileting. Yet the disposal of septic tank waste from flush toilets directly into the Nakivubo Channel, and by considering the flying toilet as a contextual defecatory method, the logics of bifurcated urban spaces are made evident and are shown to contradict assumptions about modernity and civility in the city. In doing so, the logics that sustain the abjection of informal toileting practices and materialities as "uncivil" are undermined.

Second, the shitscape reveals manifold embodied practices of defecation. The methodological focus upon the affective reactions and responses to different ways of managing bodily waste not only provide detailed and interesting emotive accounts; they also counter the "macro demographic, economic and political trends within a developmentalist mindset" (Pieterse, 2011: 12) *and* help to show the ways in which marginality and abjection within the city is produced and sustained. An affective ontology therefore pays attention to transitory feelings and emotive responses (Massumi, 2002). As such, it offers a way of analysing potentiality for sanitary practices and infrastructures that aim to facilitate more equitable urban futures, such as King's (2013) off grid example. I end with a quote from Favour,

whose words convey the hope and anticipation of having better toilets in the future.

> "The ones who use the *kaveera* like me, it is because there is no toilet [here]. But if you give it, I will use it every day! Ooh! [Laughs] If I had that one with the flush, I will be very happy!" (Interview with Favour, 6 June 2011.)

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# Appendices

# Appendix A: List of interviewees

| Interviewees cited in the thesis | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Pseudonym** | **Age** | **Gender** | **About interviewee, and location of interview** |
| 1 | Evie | 20s | Female | Self-employed, Namuwongo |
| 2 | Elliott | 40s | Male | Business professional, Kololo |
| 3 | Prossie | 30s | Female | Hawker, Kisenyi |
| 4 | Jonas | 30s | Male | Engineer, Bugolobi |
| 5 | Emmanuel | 40s | Male | STW mainenance worker, Bugolobi |
| 6 | Ssalongo | 30s | Male | Septic tank operator, central Kampala |
| 7 | Bukanga | 50s | Male | Spokesman for the Ministry of Lands, Housing, and Urban Development, central Kampala |
| 8 | Jenny | 50s | Female | KCC health worker, central Kampala |
| 9 | Amama | 30s | Male | KCC WATSAN advisor, central Kampala |
| 10 | Leons | 28 | Male | Unemployed, Kisenyi |
| 11 | Eddinas | 24 | Female | Church employee, Kisenyi |
| 12 | Brenda | 21 | Female | University student, near Bat Valley |
| 13 | Robbie | 32 | Male | Bank employee, central Kampala |
| 14 | Naomi | 30 | Female | KCC health worker, central Kampala |
| 15 | Kaweesi | 40s | Male | UGC Secretary, Kololo |
| 16 | Kevin | 30s | Male | Business professional, Kololo |
| 17 | James | 41 | Male | Business professional, Kololo |
| 18 | Timothy | 26 | Male | KCC town planner, central Kampala |
| 19 | Adam | 22 | Male | UGC caddy, Kisenyi resident |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 20 | Annette | 20s | Female | Self-employed, Kisenyi resident |
| 21 | Simon | 19 | Male | Self-employed, Kisenyi resident |
| 22 | Goretti | 50s | Female | KCC-PE community officer, central Kampala |
| 23 | Thompson | 40s | Male | KCC-PE technical advisor, central Kampala |
| 24 | Nanette | 24 | Female | KCC-PE community officer, central Kampala |
| 25 | Favour | 27 | Female | Self-employed, Namuwongo resident |
| 26 | Scott | 33 | Male | UGC member, Kololo |
| 27 | Stuart | 48 | Male | UGC member, Kololo |
| 28 | Arnold | 45 | Male | UGC member, Kololo |
| 29 | Aminah | 20s | Female | Self-employed, Kisenyi resident |
| 30 | Jeanne | 20s | Female | Self-employed, Kisenyi resident |
| 31 | Elizabeth | 67 | Female | Self-employed, Namuwongo resident |
| 32 | Jeremiah | 24 | Male | Self-employed, Namuwongo resident |
| 33 | Jacob | 19 | Male | Self-employed, Namuwongo resident |
| 34 | Evans | 19 | Male | Self-employed, Namuwongo resident |
| 35 | Stephen | 22 | Male | Self-employed, Namuwongo resident |
| 36 | Bosco | 44 | Male | Pastor, Namuwongo |
| 37 | Florence | 40s | Female | Self-employed, Namuwongo resident |
| 38 | Freddie | 40 | Male | NCBO worker, Namuwongo |
| 39 | Geoffrey | 60s | Male | Self-employed, Namuwongo resident |
| 40 | Rose | 18 | Female | Self-employed, Namuwongo resident |
| 41 | Edgar | 25 | Male | Boda boda driver, central Kampala |

| Interviewees not cited in the thesis | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 42 | Precious | 30s | Female | Vendor, Nakasero |
| 43 | Mary | 30s | Female | Vendor, Nakasero |
| 44 | Tom | 40 | Male | NGO WATSAN development employee, central Kampala |
| 45 | John | 50s | Male | KCC health worker, central Kampala |
| 46 | Grace | 62 | Male | Taxi conductor, Old taxi park |
| 47 | Puffy | 20 | Male | Vendor, Old taxi park |
| 48 | Gordon | 24 | Male | Taxi driver, Old taxi park |
| 49 | Ssalongo | 40s | Male | KCC toilet attendant, central Kampala |
| 50 | Edison | 18 | Male | KCC toilet attendant, central Kampala |
| 51 | Margaret | 22 | Female | Self-employed, Kisenyi resident |
| 52 | Kizza | 20s | Female | Vendor, Owino |
| 53 | Nabulungi | 31 | Female | Vendor, Owino |
| 54 | Wessa | 33 | Male | Vendor, Owino |
| 55 | Ruth | 19 | Female | Vendor, Owino |
| 56 | Rebecca | 19 | Female | Vendor, Owino |
| 57 | Esher | 23 | Female | Vendor, near Bugolobi |
| 58 | Bubble | 20s | Male | Vendor, near Bugolobi |
| 59 | Shadrim | 20s | Male | Employee, Centenary Park |
| 60 | Penny | 20s | Female | Employee, Centenary Park |
| 61 | Grace | 30s | Female | Herbalist, Bat Valley |
| 62 | Jekka | 30s | Female | Herbalist, Bat Valley |
| 63 | Sonny | 30s | Male | Green keeper, UGC |
| 64 | Janet | 21 | Female | KCC toilet attendant, Kisenyi |
| 65 | Jo | 20s | Female | KCC-EP intern, central Kampala |
| 66 | Reesa | 30s | Female | KCC health worker, central Kampala |
| 67 | Patience | 30s | Female | WATSAN engineer, central Kampala |
| 68 | Charles | 30s | Male | WATSAN engineer, |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | central Kampala |
| 69 | Rick | 40s | Male | WATSAN engineer, central Kampala |
| 70 | Paul | 40s | Male | WATSAN engineer, central Kampala |
| 71 | Jon | 60s | Male | WATSAN engineer, central Kampala |
| 72 | Nelson | 50s | Male | WATSAN engineer, central Kampala |
| 73 | Victor | 60s | Male | NGO town planner, central Kampala |
| 74 | Chali | 40s | Male | NGO town planner, central Kampala |
| 75 | Peter | 30s | Male | KCC town planner, central Kampala |
| 76 | Dzisala | 40s | Male | KCC town planner, central Kampala |
| 77 | Cressie | 20s | Female | Self-employed, Kisenyi resident |
| 78 | Masani | 20s | Female | Self-employed, Kisenyi resident |
| 79 | Nabirye | 30s | Female | Self-employed, Kisenyi resident |

## Appendix B: Sample interview questions

How long have you lived/worked in this area?

Tell me about this area, what do you think of it?

Describe an average day here for you.

Has the area changed at all since you've been living/working here? If so, can you tell me about those changes?

Can you tell me if the area you live/work in changes during the day/night? And if it does, can you describe in what way?

Can you tell me about the toilets in this area? Describe where they are and what they are like.

How often do you use these toilets?

Do you have a toilet in your home? If yes, please describe it. If no, please tell me about your nearest public toilets.

Do you ever use pay-per-use toilets?

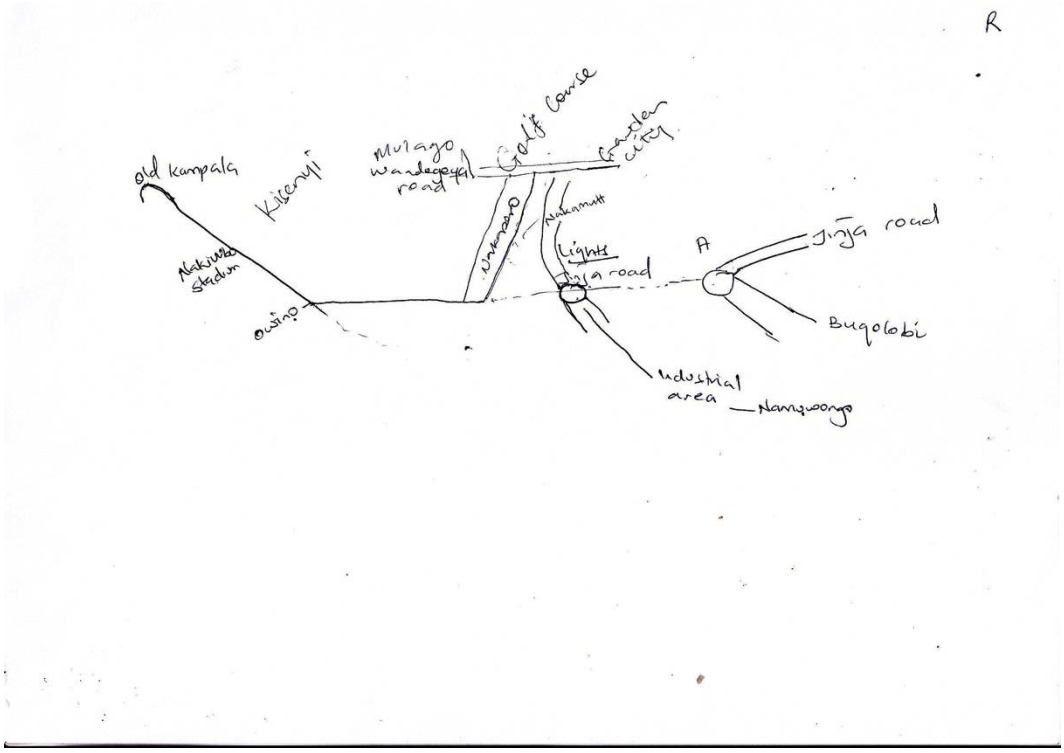
Do you use squat latrines? If no, please tell me why.

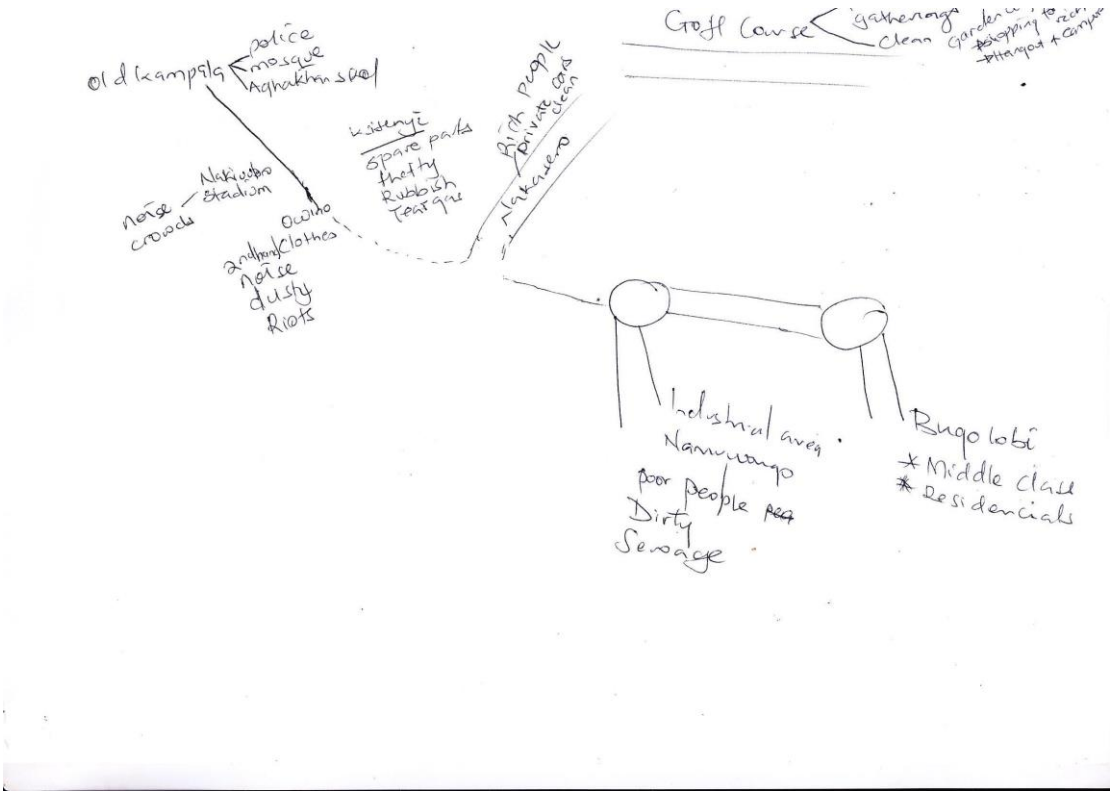
Do you use flush toilets? If no, please tell me why?

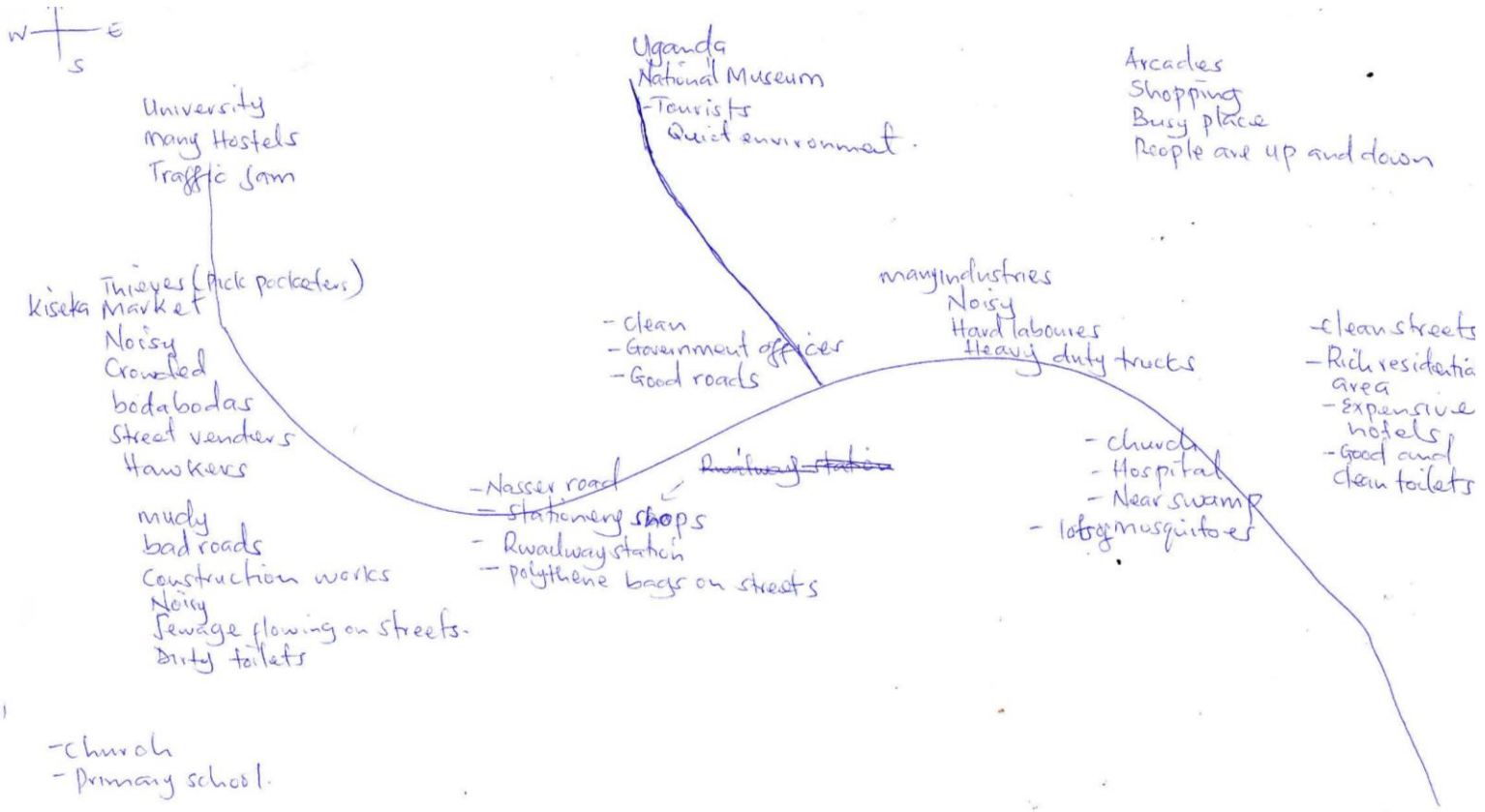
What do you think about flying toilets?

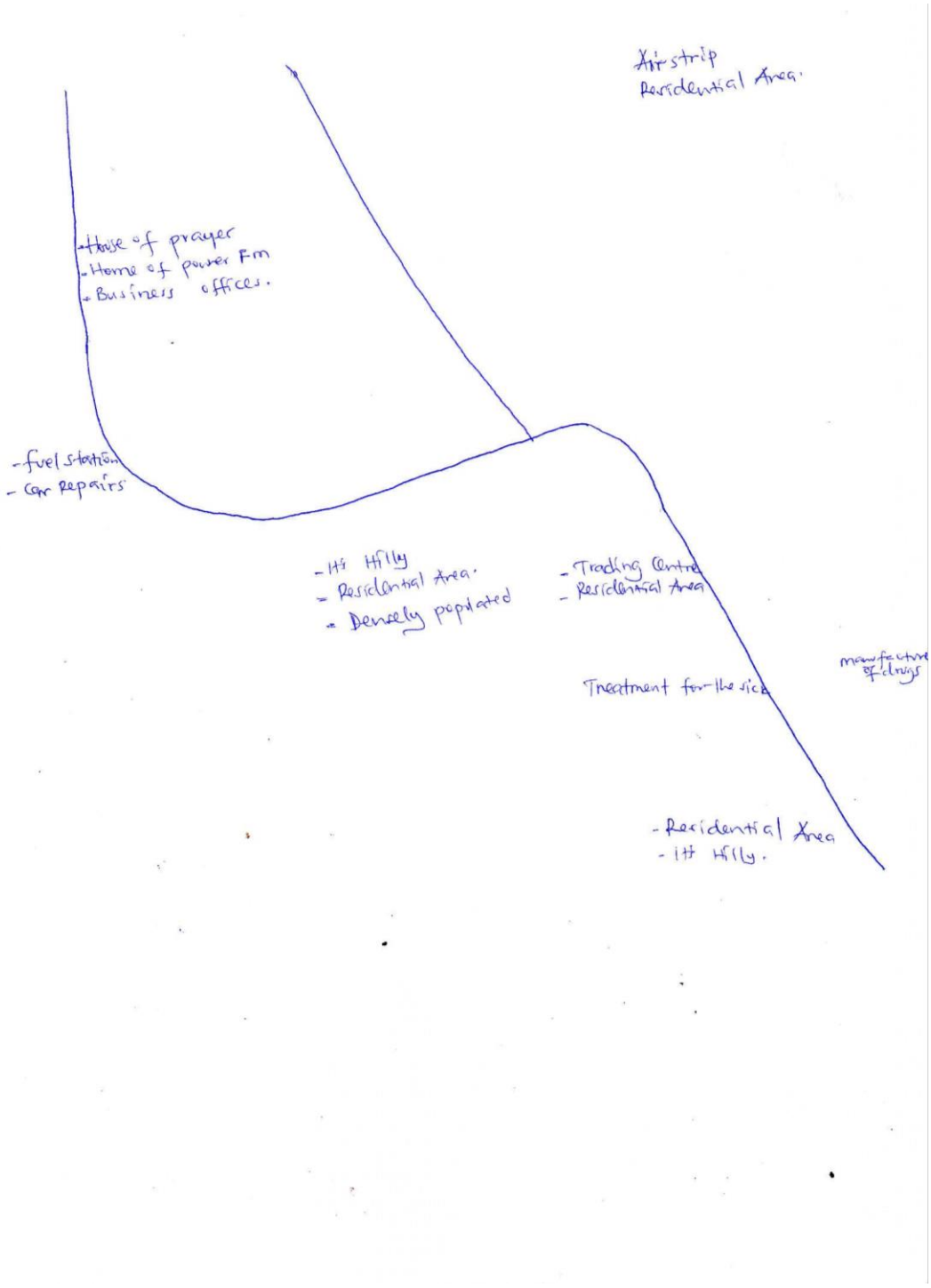
Do you know anyone that uses flying toilets?

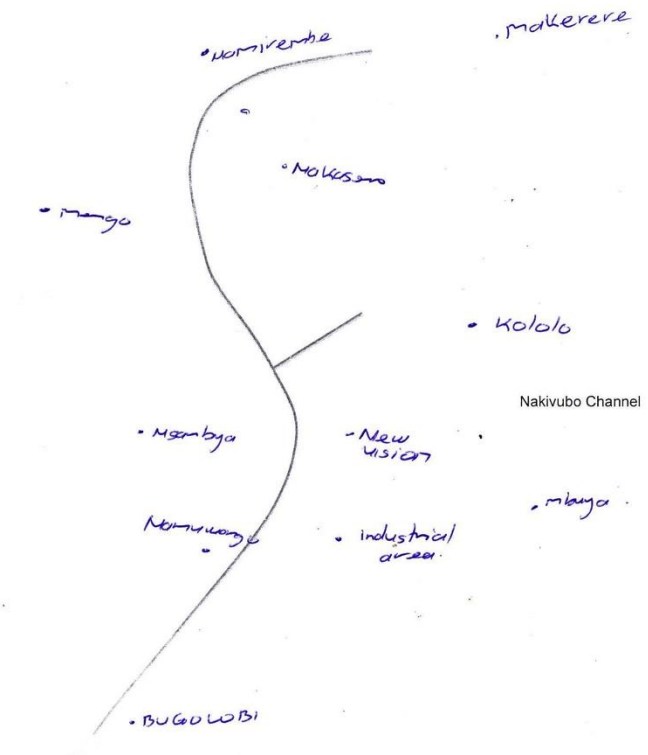
# Appendix C: Sample Participant Maps

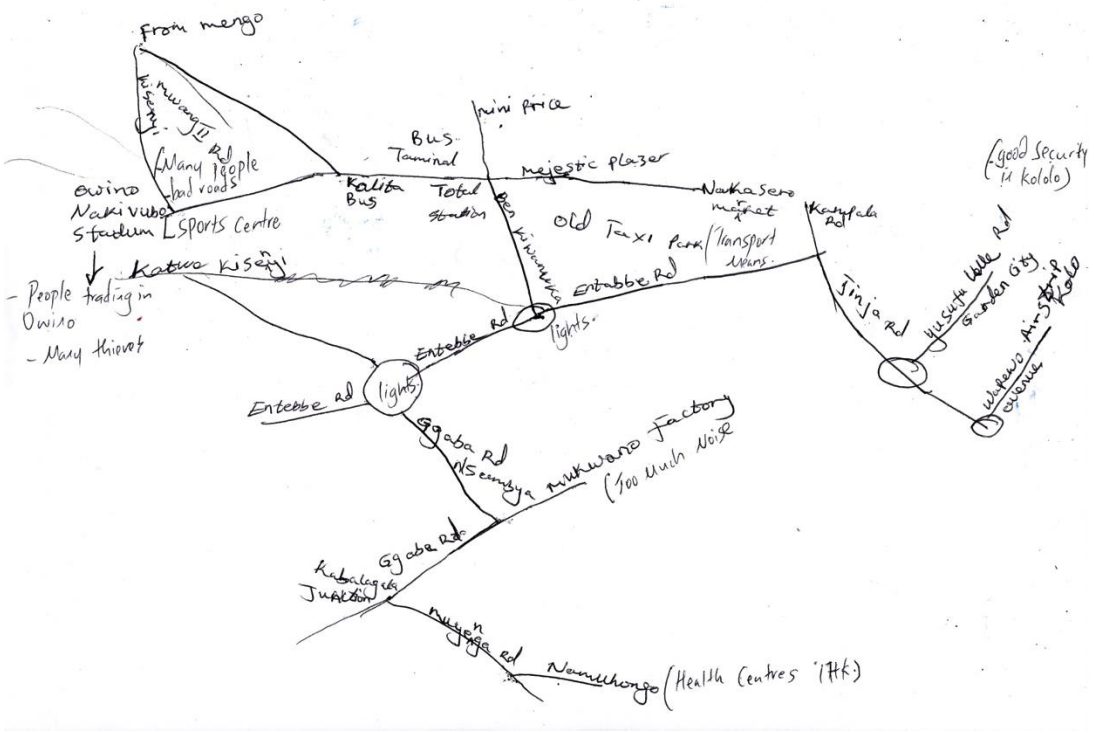


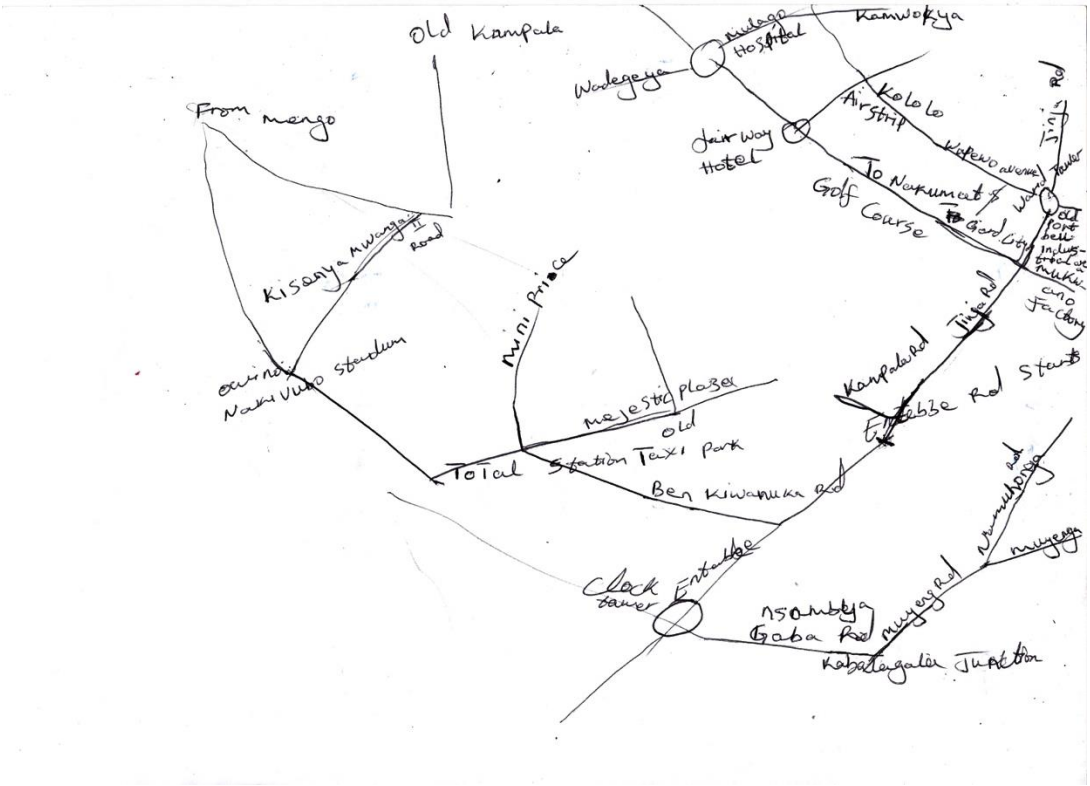

Old Kampala
police
mosque
Aga Khan mosque
Golf Course
gatherings
Clean
noise
crowds
Nakivubo Stadium
Kisenyi
spare parts
theft
Rubbish
Tear gas
Rich people
Private cars
Nakawero
Alcohol
2nd hand clothes
noise
dusty
Riots
Industrial area
Nanuwango
poor people area
Dirty
Sewage
Bungalobi
* Middle class
* Residencials

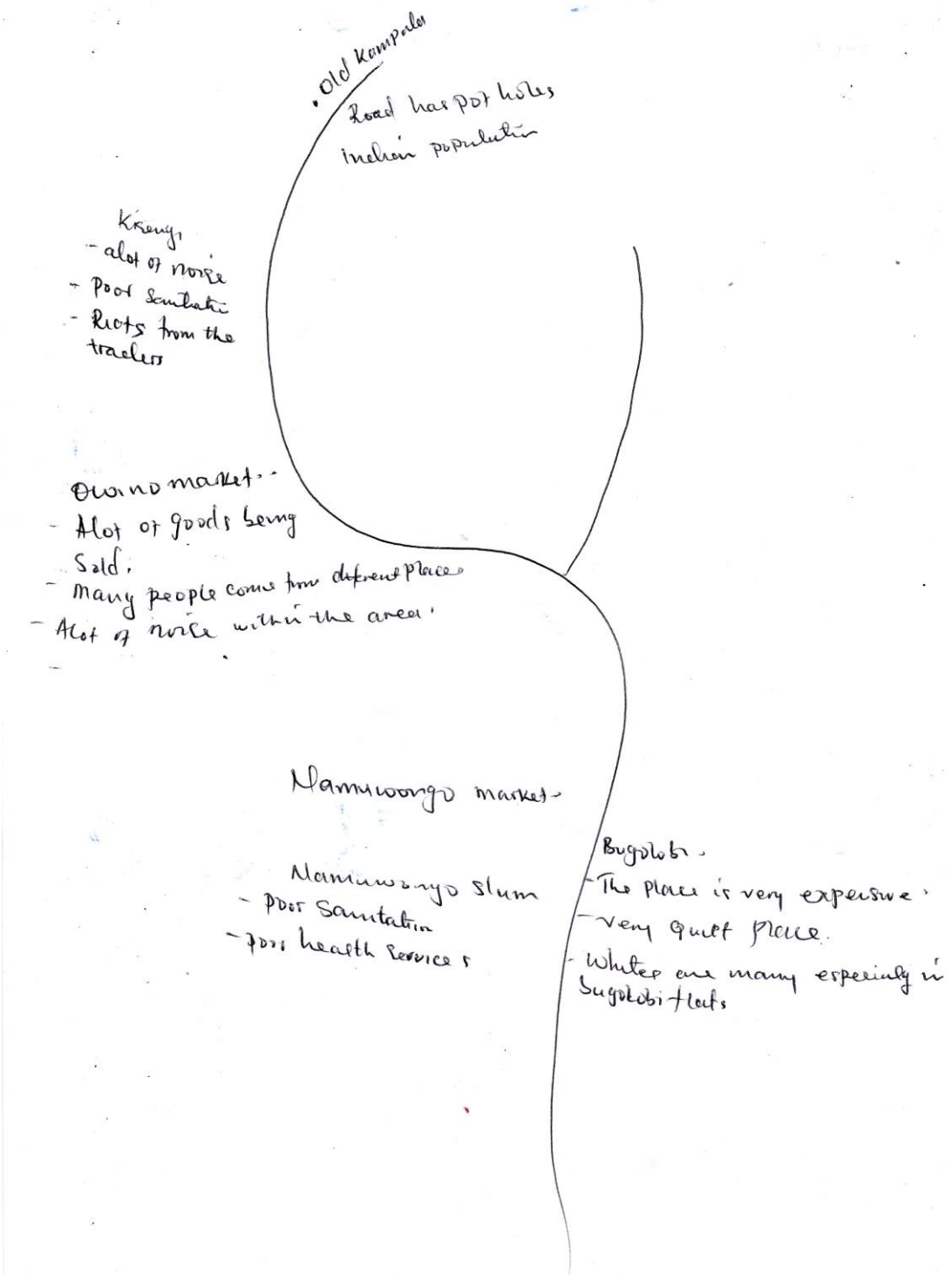

W
E
S
University
many Hostels
Traffic Jam
Thieves (Pick pocketers)
Kiseka Market
Noisy
Crowded
bodabodas
Street venders
Hawkers
muddy
bad roads
Construction works
Noisy
Sewage flowing on streets.
Dirty toilets
-church
- Primary school.
Uganda
National Museum
-Tourists
Quiet environment.
- clean
- Government officers
- Good roads
-Nasser road
- stationery shops
- Rwailway station
- polythene bags on streets
many industries
Noisy
Hard labourers
Heavy duty trucks
- church
- Hospital
- Near swamp
- lots of mosquitoes
Arcades
Shopping
Busy place
People are up and down
-clean streets
- Rich residential area
- Expensive hotels
- Good and clean toilets


Airstrip
Residential Area.
-House of prayer
-Home of power Fm
-Business offices.
-fuel station
-Car repairs
-It's Hilly
-Residential Area.
-Densely populated
-Trading Centre
-Residential Area
manufacture of drugs
Treatment for the sick
-Residential Area
-It Hilly.


Makerere
Kololo
Nakivubo Channel
New Vision
industrial area
BUGOLOBI


From mengo
Kisenyi
Muwanga II Rd
(Many people
bad woods
Owino
Nakivubo
Stadium
Sports Centre
Katwe Kisenyi
- People trading in Owino
- Many thieves
Kalita Bus
Bus Terminal
mini price
Total
Bea Kiwanuka
majestic plaza
Nakasero market
old Taxi park/Transport Mans.
Kampala Rd
(good Security
M kololo)
Jinja Rd
Entebbe Rd
lights
Entebbe rd
lights
Entebbe rd
Ggaba Rd
Nsambya Nakwano factory
(too much Noise
Ggaba Rd
Kabalagala
Junction
Muyenga rd
Nsambya (Health Centres 'HK)


Old Kampala
From mengo
Wadegeya
Nakawa
Kololo
Airstrip
Golf Course
To Nakumat
Jinja Rd
Kampala Rd
Entebbe Rd starts
Total
Station
Taxi Park
Ben Kiwanuka Rd
Clock Tower
Entebbe
Gaba Rd
Kabalagala Junction


Old Kampala
Road has pot holes
inclusion population
Kisenyi
- alot of noise
- Poor Sanitation
- Riots from the traders
Owino market.
- Alot of goods being sold.
- Many people come from different places
- Alot of noise within the area.
Namuwongo market
Namuwongo slum
- Poor Sanitation
- Poor health services
Bugolobi.
- The place is very expensive.
- very quiet place.
- Whites are many especially in Bugolobi flats